

MR. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. SCHAFFER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 409.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1200

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 409.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

TAIWAN SECURITY ENHANCEMENT ACT

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 408 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 408

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 1838) to assist in the enhancement of the security of Taiwan, and for other purposes. The bill shall be considered as read for amendment. The amendment recommended by the Committee on International Relations now printed in the bill shall be considered as adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate on the bill, as amended, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations; (2) an amendment printed in the Congressional Record pursuant to clause 8 of rule XVIII, if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee, which shall be considered as read and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER); pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 408 is a modified closed rule providing for the

consideration of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, H.R. 1838.

House Resolution 408 provides for 1 hour of debate in the House, equally divided between the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations.

The rule waives all points of order against consideration of the bill and, further, the rule provides that the amendment recommended by the Committee on International Relations now printed in the bill be considered as adopted.

The rule provides for consideration of the amendment printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, if offered by the minority leader or his designee, which shall be considered as read and shall be separately debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

And, finally, the rule provides for one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

H.R. 1838, Mr. Speaker, seeks to enhance the security of Taiwan. I am pleased to be an original cosponsor of this legislation, which the majority whip, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), introduced in large part to respond to increasing concern with the threat to the peace and stability of Taiwan in light of the actions of the People's Republic of China toward Taiwan.

Both the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee of primary jurisdiction are cosponsors, along with four of my colleagues on the Committee on Rules. I believe that this legislation enjoys widespread bipartisan support in the House.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act increases military cooperation with and establishes direct military communication between forces in Taiwan and in the United States in an effort to help Taiwan protect itself from potential threats from China. The legislation increases the number of Taiwanese military officers and officials to be trained at U.S. military academies and the National Defense University and increases the technical staff at the American Institute in Taiwan.

In addition, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act requires the President to justify any rejection of a Taiwanese defense request and requires annual reports by the defense secretary on Taiwan's security situation.

I believe that it is entirely appropriate for Congress to express itself strongly on the important matter of the security of Taiwan. Since the nationalist escape to the island after the Communist victory on the mainland of China in 1949, the close relationship between the United States and Taiwan, I think, has been mutually beneficial to both peoples.

The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 established on the part of the United States a concern for Taiwan and its

people, at a time when diplomatic relations switched on the part of the United States from Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act clarifies and reiterates the commitments made in the Taiwan Relations Act.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), the ranking minority member on the Committee on International Relations, stated in his testimony to the Committee on Rules that he was aware of no amendments to this legislation, and he was supportive of the request for a modified closed rule. As a firm supporter of this legislation, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Committee on Rules has crafted a fair rule to provide for its consideration, and I would strongly urge the adoption of both the rule and the underlying bill.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and the ranking member, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), along with the majority whip, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), and the many others who have worked on this legislation for their efforts in bringing forward this important piece of legislation. I believe House Resolution 408 is a necessarily structured rule, a fair rule, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the underlying bill, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, H.R. 1838, is a bill designed to reaffirm the Nation's commitment to Taiwan's security. It is my understanding that the bill was substantially modified in the Committee on International Relations and demonstrates a bipartisan effort to show some congressional support for maintaining Taiwan's ability to defend itself.

I have received numerous letters and petitions from Taiwanese Americans in my district urging passage of the bill. As Professor Ken Hsu of Pittsford, New York, notes, "This act will help maintain the peace and security of the Taiwan Strait." Over the past decade, Taiwan has become a full-fledged, multiparty democracy. Presidential elections are scheduled for March of this year. Taiwan fully respects human rights and civil liberties and is often touted as a model for democracy in East Asia.

Meanwhile, the People's Republic of China continues to jail citizens who simply want to express their views and represses the people of Tibet and other regions who long for freedom. Most importantly, China has spent the past few years actively building up its military capabilities. This buildup has included

further development of advanced ballistic and cruise missiles and a significant increase in the size of China's missile force. That is a worry.

Mr. Speaker, this is a closed rule, with the possibility of a substitute amendment. And while I support a more open amendment process, in this case I am not aware of any amendments on our side and will not call for a recorded vote.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss), the distinguished chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and my colleague on the Committee on Rules.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Florida for yielding me this time, and I rise in support of this appropriately crafted and, I believe, noncontroversial rule. This is obviously an extremely important and serious matter, and I believe a structured rule was necessary to ensure that the various views are aired in a productive way out here today.

Mr. Speaker, I come to this debate primarily focused on national security, obviously as chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, with very high hopes but also with some deep underlying concerns. I have high hopes that the United States can and will step up to the challenge of engaging the Asia-Pacific region while protecting U.S. interests and the interests of our friends and allies in that area and elsewhere.

I do remain concerned that we lack sufficient and sustained leadership on this issue from the Clinton-Gore administration, while at the same time we do have a wide range of vigorously conflicted, highly visible viewpoints on how we should proceed even within this Congress. As a result, we run the risk of sending mixed signals that could weaken rather than reinforce the message of resolve that we need to send to the Chinese leadership about our priorities. That is what we are here about, resolve.

Mr. Speaker I have just returned from leading the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on a trip to the South Pacific. I want to report that, without fail, what we heard over and over is that the area of greatest focus for U.S. officials and their counterparts in the region is the need for careful management of the explosive flash-point that exists in the Taiwan Strait. The Chinese hierarchy knows this and has demonstrated its willingness to capitalize on it by engineering provocations in order to promote its own agenda, including, apparently, gaining unfettered entry into world markets and trade organizations.

Let me state that I am certainly supportive of the substance of this legislation, inasmuch as it emphasizes and

clarifies our defense posture when it comes to assisting the people of Taiwan and protecting their security. But I am also mindful of the larger picture, and I recognize that, as contorted as U.S. policy toward Taiwan and, by inference, China, has become, it is a policy that of necessity must find balance on an extremely narrow tightrope.

Our discussions here must not be misinterpreted to be our pushing the envelope on behalf of Taiwan. The issue is the defense and security of Taiwan. Proponents of today's legislation point out that the existing statutory foundation for our relationship with Taiwan is in need of greater elucidation. They seek to send a message to Beijing. But we must make sure that in the process of adding detail, specificity, and clarity to our current policy, we do not also generate the unintended consequences of provocation and perhaps dangerous escalation in our complicated and delicate diplomatic relations with China.

This matter is of vital significance to regional security and to global security, and it affects U.S. interests directly. Without doubt the Chinese leadership, as well as the people of Taiwan and our friends and enemies around the world, will be watching this debate and gauging our willingness to approach these tough issues with thoughtful, far-sighted leadership, and unity of purpose.

As my colleagues know, one of the areas of jurisdiction of the Committee on Intelligence is to monitor and prepare capabilities for potential security crises around the world, and that certainly includes a careful eye toward China and Taiwan. I think I can say that the danger of miscalculation in the Taiwan Straits is at the top of the list of the gravest threat to today's world peace.

Our challenge in this debate is to ensure that it promotes solutions rather than contributing to a deadly miscalculation. I urge support for the rule.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend and colleague from New York for yielding me this time.

I will rise in the strongest possible opposition to this legislation when it is offered, and I would like to ask my colleagues to pay careful attention to this legislation, which, while well-intentioned, will be wholly counterproductive and will dramatically enhance instability in the region.

Let me first say that during the course of the many years that we have debated the China issue, I am proud to have been one who has uniformly fought for human rights in China; who has uniformly fought for the right of the people of Tibet; who has uniformly rejected Most Favored Nation treat-

ment for China, and will continue to do so.

What is at stake here is the unintended unraveling of a carefully crafted ambivalence in U.S. foreign policy towards China and Taiwan, a foreign policy which under Republican and Democratic administrations has succeeded in making Taiwan a strong, prosperous, and democratic society. What this legislation will do, it will enhance instability and uncertainty in the region, and it will not contribute one iota to the security of Taiwan.

□ 1215

Let me elaborate. When the question of an invitation to the distinguished President of Taiwan from his alma mater, Cornell University, came before our body, and the administration was committed to denying him a visa because that was part of our agreement with the government in Beijing, I introduced a resolution compelling the Department of State to issue a visa to the democratically elected President of Taiwan to go to Cornell to receive his honorary doctorate.

My legislation passed this body on May 2, 1995, by a vote of 390-0 and the Senate by a vote of 97-1. When the question of Chinese application to host the Olympic Games in the year 2000 came before our body, it was my pleasure to introduce a resolution expressing the strong view that this Congress will not countenance the holding of the Olympic Games in China as long as human rights violations are as widespread, as long as the denial to religious freedom are as widespread, as long as the practice of forced abortions are as widespread as they are in China. And this body and the Senate approved my legislation.

A short while before we left for our Christmas break, I had the privilege of speaking on behalf of a religious movement, global in nature, called Falun Gong that the Chinese Communist Government is persecuting, harassing, and imprisoning its leaders.

So I come to this debate as one whose opposition to the odious practices of the Chinese Communist regime have been on display for two decades. But I also come to this debate as one who has supported the Taiwan Relations Act, passed in 1979, which for the past 20 years has facilitated Taiwan's development as one of the most prosperous, advanced, and democratic societies on the face of this planet.

As a matter of fact, one of the few great achievements on a bipartisan basis of the administrations during the course of the last 20 years has been the tremendous development in Taiwan. Taiwan today is a powerful, prosperous, and democratic society.

Our relationship with Taiwan and China is predicated on the carefully crafted fiction that there is only one China; and this fiction, which we pay

tribute to on a daily basis, has an ambassador in Beijing but no ambassador but somebody who acts like an ambassador in Taipei.

The Chinese Government in Beijing sends an ambassador here to represent China; and the Government of Taiwan sends someone who, while not with the rank of ambassador, ably and effectively represents the interest of Taiwan. When he visits me in my office, I refer to him as "Mr. Ambassador."

Now, this carefully crafted ambivalence and ambiguity has allowed us to support Taiwan's defense needs to the fullest possible extent. Taiwan today is stronger than it has ever been in its history. Speaking for myself, I will be voting for whatever defense requirements Taiwan comes to us with insofar as these requirements will be necessary for the defense of that island.

This piece of legislation, well-intentioned but totally counterproductive, will add nothing to the security of Taiwan. What it will do, it will stir up a hornet's nest in the region. It will enhance instability, anxiety, and uncertainty.

While the crafters of this legislation had good intentions, they clearly did not take into account that, in public diplomacy, ambivalence and ambiguity have a long established and distinguished place.

It is that ambiguity and ambivalence which the presence of our peculiar relationship with Taiwan so ably demonstrates which will be undermined and destroyed by this piece of legislation.

Now, this is not a partisan issue, Mr. Speaker. As was mentioned earlier, the chairman of the Committee on International Relations and the Ranking Member, both good friends of mine, are supporting this legislation. Some of the most distinguished Republicans on the Committee on International Relations joined me in opposing this legislation. So the issue has no partisan element. It has no partisan component.

The issue before us is very simple: Do we wish to enhance the stability of the region or do we wish to add to the periodic outbursts of instability that the passage of this legislation will surely bring about.

It is my considered judgment that it is in the national security interest of the United States to see this legislation defeated.

The President has indicated and his top foreign policy advisors have indicated that if the legislation is approved in its present form, they will recommend a veto. I hope the President will veto, and I will vote to sustain that veto.

It is unnecessary, it is counterproductive, it is nonsensical to bring into our complex relationship with China yet another divisive matter, the only consequence of which is to diminish the security of Taiwan, the exact

opposite, the exact opposite that the crafters of this legislation intend.

Now, when my legislation was passed, Mr. Speaker, allowing the President of Taiwan to go to Cornell, the Chinese in Beijing went ballistic. They went ballistic to the point of engaging in military action in the waters around Taiwan. The invitation to President Lee was a matter of principle. This is not. This is a matter of bad policy judgment. But the reaction is predictable. It will create horrendous tensions in the Taiwan Straits. It will dramatically diminish the chances of cross-straits dialogue.

What every Member of this body wants is to see the China-Taiwan conflict resolved without military means, peacefully, constructively. This piece of legislation torpedoes that objective. When we will discuss this legislation, I will strongly urge my colleagues to vote against it.

I have nothing against the rule. The rule is not the issue in this instance, Mr. Speaker. But what is at issue is a fundamental bipartisan foreign policy successfully pursued by Republican and Democratic administrations for 21 years under President Carter, President Reagan, President Bush, and President Clinton.

Taiwan has thrived given our existing legislative framework vis-a-vis that country. This legislation will undermine that stability. It will threaten the stability and peace in the Taiwan Straits. And we shall rue the day if we were to pass this legislation as we see the consequences unfold.

We will have plenty of China issues to discuss in the next few months. Some in this body will be advocating Most Favored Nation treatment on a permanent basis to mainland China. I hope there will be enough of us to oppose that legislation when it comes to this floor. This is a piece of legislation that is counterproductive, poorly thought through, and hostile to the security interests of both Taiwan and the United States, and I strongly urge my colleagues to reject it.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from Southern California (Mr. ROHRBACHER).

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) for permitting me to speak in support of the rule; and I appreciate the remarks of my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) who has just finished another of his eloquent presentations before this body, however, a presentation that I must disagree with respectfully.

I stand in strong support of this rule and in strong support of the bipartisan Taiwan security enhancement act. I congratulate the House leadership of both parties for bringing this bill to the floor at this critical period while

the people of Taiwan and the Republic of China on Taiwan are entering into the final month of their democratic presidential campaign.

There should be no doubt that the requirements in this bill to strengthen Taiwan's ability to defend its own people against air and missile attack is essential to maintaining peace and, yes, stability in the Taiwan Straits. It sends an undeniable message to the communist strongmen in Beijing and to our friends throughout the Pacific region that the American people are stalwart in defending democracy and honoring our treaty commitments.

With all due respect to my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), ambiguity and ambivalence in the face of tyrants does not bring about the result the people would like to achieve. Seeking stability through ambiguity and ambivalence will lead not to stability but, instead, to conflict and war through miscalculation. Stability without regard to moral commitment and to liberty and justice is not a worthy goal and leads in the end to conflict.

We must give a specific message, we must not be ambiguous, to the people in Beijing so they will not miscalculate, so they will know what our commitment is and how far they can push us in the free world. This is the way to peace. It is not through ambiguity.

Specifically, we are today reaffirming the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979. The Act clearly authorizes the United States or any other country to provide defensive weapon systems to the Republic of China and Taiwan and restricts Beijing from using force against the people of Taiwan.

This is a legal understanding. We should not in any way hint to the strong men in Beijing that that understanding and that agreement has been altered or has evolved into something else than what it was whether that agreement was made. That is the way to have peace in the Taiwan Straits and to have stability in the Pacific, let people know we are holding them to their commitments and that we are strong and forceful in demanding our rights under agreements with those that we have made before.

The upcoming election in Taiwan marks an historic milestone. It is the first time in a thousand years of recorded Chinese history that a democratically elected Chinese leader, President Lee, will be peacefully handing over power to an elected successor.

The upcoming election and post-election periods present a very real danger of intimidation or even violent aggression by the communist regime in Beijing.

I recently returned from Taiwan where I visited the political and military leaders there, and I also visited their air national and missile defense centers as well as frontline bases in the Taiwan straits.

All the leaders in Taiwan that I met, the military leaders and political leaders, as well as people there who live there and are confronted with this challenge, expressed concern about the potential aggression from the PRC in the upcoming months.

□ 1230

The threat from Communist China was underscored during the past few days with new public threats for the use of force against Taiwan by the government in Beijing.

I am submitting for the RECORD a copy of the January 31 report out of Hong Kong detailing exercises to be conducted immediately prior to the election in Taiwan by the People's Liberation Army Missile Command in Fujian Province, directly across from Taiwan.

Beijing needs to know that we are standing by the agreement we made with Beijing and that we will ensure Taiwan the defensive systems that we are permitted through that understanding to provide Taiwan. This is what will lead to more peace, not leaving Taiwan vulnerable, not being ambiguous but providing them the missile defense systems and the aircraft defense systems they need to deter aggression and to make a solid statement as this Congress is doing today in this debate that we are not ambiguous and not ambivalent in our commitment to Taiwan's security and the Taiwan Relations Act.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following material for the RECORD:

PRC TO STAGE ANTI-AIR MILITARY EXERCISE
IN LATE FEBRUARY

(By special correspondent Hsiao Peng)

According to Jiang Zemin's requirements outlined at a recent meeting of the Central Leading Group for Taiwan Affairs on "preparations for both eventualities," the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is to stage a large-scale anti-air exercise in Fujian in late February. Massive anti-air missile forces and various types of warplanes recently have arrived in Fujian. For the first time, a newly established reserve missile brigade will participate in the military exercise.

CONDUCTING DEFENSE EXERCISE TO PREVENT
GIVING US EXCUSE

A source pointed out that the mainland will conduct a completely defensive military exercise in the run-up to Taiwan's presidential elections. The anti-air live-ammunition exercise involving a large number of anti-air missiles and warplanes can put pressure on Taiwan independence forces. Because it is a "defensive exercise," it will not serve as an excuse for the United States and other countries to intervene in the mainland maneuver. The war game also is China's direct military response to Taiwan Vice President Lien Chan's clamor for the development of long-range missiles against the mainland. At the recent meeting of the Central Leading Group for Taiwan Affairs, Jiang Zemin reportedly decided that preparations for both eventualities—peaceful reunification and retaking Taiwan by force—should be taken as the mainland's basic principle on future Taiwan affairs. Meanwhile, the top Chinese lead-

ership has made a clear-cut decision not to allow Taiwan authorities to indefinitely stall the Taiwan issue, and has set a timetable for the settlement of the Taiwan issue. Should new Taiwan leaders refuse to accept the principles of "one country, two systems and peaceful reunification" and pursue Taiwan independence by incorporating the "two-state theory" into the constitution and the law, the mainland is prepared to use force to resolve the Taiwan issue by means of "one country, two systems."

LARGE NUMBER OF ADVANCED ANTI-AIRCRAFT
MISSILES TO BE SHOWCASED

The anti-air exercise will involve the live firing of massive advanced PLA anti-air missiles in Fujian. In addition to Taiwan warplanes, such as F-16, Ching-kuo, and Mirage 2000 fighters, the military exercise will take US F-117 and B-1 stealth bombers and cruise missiles as the main targets of attack in order to prevent US military intervention in mainland operations against Taiwan. It is understood that since Lien Chan, Liu Taiying, and other senior Taiwan officials threatened to countercheck the mainland, the top mainland leadership has attached great importance to its air defense against Taiwan. To strengthen Fujian's anti-air capability against Taiwan, the mainland recently not only has deployed a large number of anti-aircraft and ground-to-ground missiles in Fujian, but for the first time it also has established a reserve missile brigade to arm reserve units with various anti-aircraft missiles, which have considerably enhanced Fujian's anti-air capability. The brigade is Fujian's second air defense reserve unit since its reserves established an anti-aircraft artillery division. It also is the first reserve unit armed with missiles. The upcoming military exercise will serve as a warning to Taiwan's arms expansion and is the first military maneuver intended to put pressure on Taiwan in the run-up to its presidential elections this year.

CHINA WARNS AGAINST MORE U.S.-TAIWAN
MILITARY COOPERATION

A Chinese government spokesman today (Jan. 31) warned that passage of a law to improve U.S.-Taiwan military cooperation could threaten "peace and stability" in the region and damage relations with the U.S. The Clinton Administration should take "effective measures" to prevent adoption of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, according to Chinese embassy spokesman Yu Shuning.

The bill, H.R. 1838, is scheduled for a House vote on Feb. 1 or the following day. A Senate companion bill, S. 693, sponsored by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is pending before the panel after a hearing in August.

"If the U.S. restores its military ties with Taiwan . . . it will have a very serious consequences to our relationship," Yu told reporters in a briefing at the Chinese Embassy. "It could trigger another round of arms race and enhance the chance of military confrontation."

Yu called the act a "very serious infringement" of Chinese sovereignty and an encouragement of Taiwanese "separatists" who seek independence from China.

He identified passage of the bill as one of three problems facing the U.S.-China relationship. The second is the impact of any sale of advanced weaponry to Taiwan and the third is the U.S. sponsorship this year of a resolution in the United Nations Convention on Human Rights.

House International Committee Chairman Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) said last November

that Clinton Administration pressure had prevented the bill from coming to a vote for fear it would damage negotiations for China's entry into the World Trade Organization.

MISSIONARIES: CLERICS KIDNAPPED, CHURCHES
BURNED IN CHINA

VATICAN CITY (AP)—China has burned and blown up churches and taken dozens of clerics into custody in an intensified campaign against the underground Catholic church, the Vatican's missionary news service said Monday.

Some of the arrests cited by Fides were reported earlier by Catholics within China.

The alleged crackdown implements a plan outlined by the government in August to force Catholics worshipping illegally into the official state-registered church system, Fides said.

Officially atheist China limits worship to state-registered churches.

Millions of Chinese Roman Catholics worship secretly, illicitly recognizing the Vatican as their religious authority rather than the government.

China insists that its people have full freedom of religion; the parliament issued a statement Monday denying the existence of the underground Catholic church.

Religious meeting places are required to be registered with authorities only "to ensure that the religions can conduct their normal and lawful activities," the lawmakers' statement said.

Fides said Catholics are under increasing pressure to accept only the authority of the state-sanctioned church, the China Patriotic Catholic Association.

Children of families in underground churches are being barred from school, the news service said.

Two churches, built without government permit, were blown up at mid-December in the Wenzhou diocese, Fides said.

Other churches were burned; three were destroyed in the same northern diocese in April, Fides said.

"The diocese of Wenzhou is being subjected to pressure and violence," it said.

Authorities have taken away seven priests and the diocese's archbishop since September, Fides said.

Since early January, officials have forced at least 2,000 Roman Catholics in the region to register, some after days of detention. Other Catholics have fled rather than be forced into the state church, it claimed.

In all, at least six clerics have disappeared since their arrests, over a period of three years to a few months, it said.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD).

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I thank my friend from New York for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the rule on H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. This bill as modified by the Committee on International Relations represents a concerted effort by a bipartisan group of Members who remain concerned about the longstanding tensions that exist between Taiwan and the PRC.

It is well known that since the inception of the PRC, the PRC has considered Taiwan a renegade province. The government in Beijing has long heralded the "one China" policy to reemphasize its claims to Taiwan and insist

that foreign governments adhere to it as well. Officially, we support the "one China" policy while at the same time we insist that China relinquish the use of force in any reunification effort. Despite assurances by China to the world community to peacefully settle this sovereignty dispute, China refuses to disavow the use of force. To this end, China has often resorted to bullying tactics and demonstrative military exercises in a game of deadly brinksmanship.

The now infamous Chinese ballistic missile strike in the Straits of Taiwan during the 1996 presidential campaign in Taiwan has become a watershed event that underscores the calculated risk which Beijing is willing to make in order to intimidate Taiwan. So intent is China's concern over any display or mention of independence that it is willing to unleash a torrent of destruction in the Western Pacific. This sentiment was further acknowledged by the Chinese Premier, Zhu Rongji, who recently noted that the PRC considers violence an acceptable means to "discuss" the reunification of Taiwan.

In furtherance of their strategy of intimidation, the Chinese have conducted amphibious landing exercises near the straits, deployed theater missile launch sites adjacent to Taiwan, acquired long-range Su-30 bombers and is currently acquiring former Soviet naval destroyers. These efforts are meant to intimidate democracy's allies in Taiwan and around the world in light of the upcoming presidential elections in Taiwan.

Previously, the distinguished gentleman from California indicated that we should be ambiguous and ambivalent. We may be forced to be ambiguous in our diplomatic relations, but we should not be ambivalent in the message that we send to the PRC. We must pass this new Taiwan Relations Act.

The bill before the House today further refines and supplements the underlying relations act. This legislative supplement by Congress unambiguously and without ambivalence gives notice to Beijing that the United States is indeed committed to the security of Taiwan and will not tolerate an act of aggression to settle the sovereignty dispute.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and the underlying legislation that will be made in order. There are two preliminary points I would like to make. First of all, I think all or nearly all Members approaching this issue on both sides of the aisle and both sides of

the issue, do approach this debate with due gravity and concern and are attempting to do so with appropriate sensitivity to the delicate situation between the PRC and Taiwan.

I want to call attention, however, to my colleague from Florida's remarks. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), the chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I think made a very thoughtful and incisive statement. He said Members that vote for this upcoming legislation, H.R. 1838, should not be deemed to be doing things that are intentionally provocative. That should not be our intent. Indeed it is not, I think, the supporters' intent that we are taking a provocative action. But, on the other hand, we need to, where appropriate, eliminate ambiguity; and we need to recognize that this is a sensitive area. The Taiwanese-Chinese and the Sino-American relationships are the most complicated issues that come before my subcommittee and we should not underestimate the reaction to the legislative vote on H.R. 1838.

One of my first votes as a Member in 1979 was cast in support of the Taiwan Relations Act, the TRA. This Member is a strong supporter of the TRA, for it introduced a very significant measure of coherence, consistency, and commitment to our security relationship with Taiwan. Under the TRA, the U.S. provides Taiwan with the defensive weaponry and technical expertise to defend itself. It is not a treaty relationship, but it does recognize that the military might of the People's Republic of China should not determine, simply by brutal force, the final status of the governance of Taiwan.

The second preliminary point I would like to make today for my colleagues who may have some questions about the timing of any action on H.R. 1838, and I have had those thoughts and concerns myself. There is never a perfect time; but, this is the issue that has been addressed or considered in the House International Relations Committee. The legislation we have before us today, after the Rule, H.R. 1838 is dramatically different than the bill introduced in the other body and the original content of this legislation. For example, Congress Daily's edition today is still in error. There are no specific references to weapons systems in this legislation as amended. The International Relations Committee, on a bipartisan basis, as the gentleman from Guam has indicated, has worked its will and made this legislation that I think should have strong support.

Today, H.R. 1838, expands upon the Taiwan Relations Act. It seeks to ensure that training and educational opportunities are available to military officers from Taiwan. It requires the executive branch of our government to report on the nature of the threat to Taiwan and to explain arms sales con-

sidered and the rationale of decisions. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act delivers, I believe, a strong message that clarity, not ambiguity, is important in expressing our support for Taiwan and Taiwan policy.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is important to emphasize again that legislation to be before us today has been heavily amended by the House International Relations Committee. The changes are primarily because of the efforts of these members and other members of my subcommittee but also due to other members of the full committee, and to the support and cooperation of the chairman, the gentleman from New York, Mr. GILMAN, and the ranking Democrat, Mr. GEJDENSON. They have all worked at perfecting legislation which we bring to the body today with some confidence.

Mr. Speaker, it is true that the executive branch had voiced great concerns about this legislation before these significant changes and still opposes the legislation. I think they do in part because they have not carefully examined the changes that have been made by the Committee. For example, the initial legislation listed the sale of specific weapons systems that were to be sold to Taiwan. Some of these systems are appropriate for sale. Some may not be appropriate for sale and some already have been provided very effectively in one way or another. Some weapons systems have, in fact, been made available but do not fit the priorities of the government of Taiwan themselves. Those facts were brought to the attention of Members in classified briefings, including the primary sponsors of the legislation or their staff.

Except in unusual circumstances, it admittedly is not an appropriate role for the legislative branch to dictate to the executive branch which weapons to sell to a friend. My colleagues should be reminded that we do not do this in this legislation and that President Reagan and President Bush, of course, would not have liked that kind of specific requirement. Neither will the next President of the United States. But we have taken the proper, responsible course by removing references to specific legislation and several other questionable or unnecessary directions.

Similarly, this legislation, which we are about to consider after approval of the Rule, as introduced, would require the allocation of additional military training positions over and above Taiwan's current generous quota at U.S. military academies and schools. The issue is not whether or not officers from Taiwan are permitted to train in the United States, for clearly they are permitted to do so and are being educated here. Rather, the legislation seeks to give additional emphasis to such training slots wherever it is possible. We must and do recognize that

our own officers in fact have to have these courses, and we also need to provide this kind of training in our academies and in the defense training programs to a whole array of friends and allies across the world. It is a zero sum game, to some extent, and in H.R. 1838 we are not mandating any particular additional number.

Mr. Speaker, in summary, this Member would note that this legislation about to be considered has been significantly altered in numerous significant ways to address legitimate concerns. It would perhaps benefit from additional review and modifications, and this Member fully expects such modifications to occur as if this legislation moves forward to a conference. However, my colleagues can feel comfortable with H.R. 1838, and I hope for and recommend their positive vote. I thank the original introducers and especially all the colleagues in the International Relations Committee who have helped to perfect it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, if I could take 30 seconds out of order, I would like to wish a happy birthday on behalf of the House to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH).

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act reported from the Committee on International Relations with 82 bipartisan cosponsors. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act will advance our obligations under the Taiwan Relations Act and maintain stability within the region. According to the Pentagon report submitted to Congress earlier this year, China is currently engaged in a major buildup of ballistic missiles on its coast directly across the strait from Taiwan. Beijing is simultaneously increasing pressure on the U.S. to limit or decrease our sales of defensive weaponry to Taiwan.

Both of these factors represent a substantial threat to the balance of power and, therefore, the stability of the area. The United States must remain steadfast in our commitment to fulfilling our obligations under the Taiwan Relations Act in which the U.S. promises to provide Taiwan with the means to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability. Taiwan's defense capabilities are central to maintaining the balance of power in the region.

This bill is a necessary bipartisan step towards fulfilling our promise to Taiwan. It would increase Taiwan's defense capabilities while at the same time addressing any remaining deficiencies through establishment of direct communications between our militaries. This bill would reiterate the fundamental truth of democracy, that any determination of the ultimate status of Taiwan must have the express consent of the people of Taiwan.

Finally, the bill would require the President to submit an annual report

to Congress on Taiwan's defense needs. I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

I would finally, just in closing, talk to my colleagues about the original purpose of the Taiwan Relations Act and really to have an overall view of the region, because this bill is really tied into that perception of what is going on. I think all of us are unanimous, both supporters and opponents of this legislation, that the ultimate status really is self-determination of the people in the various locales in that region, on the island of Taiwan itself and in fact ultimately in China itself as well.

How can we expect that to occur if we do not provide defensive means, especially with the intentions that are there? We are not committing American troops by any stretch of the imagination, but we are hopefully giving the Taiwanese the tools to determine their own self-determination, which is a commitment that we have made and a commitment that they deserve in terms of their own future and their own system of government as well.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 408, the proposed rule to govern debate on the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, H.R. 1838. It is an appropriate rule for what will be a very important debate. The fact is that Taiwan's security is threatened by the aggressive policies and the military modernization program of the People's Republic of China. For almost 50 years, our Nation has maintained its commitment to Taiwan's defensive military capabilities. Ever since we have enacted the Taiwan Relations Act over 20 years ago, our Nation has been morally committed to assuring the security of the free people of Taiwan. In 1996, our Nation was called on to back up that commitment.

With the strong encouragement of both Houses of Congress, President Clinton deployed two aircraft carrier battle groups to the Taiwan Strait in response to Beijing's efforts to coerce the outcome in the election that Taiwan was holding that year.

□ 1245

Beijing's program is clear: they want to increase their ability to coerce Taiwan with threats of military force, and they are determined to ensure that Taiwan will be helpless in the face of such threats. Our Nation, along with our allies, must stand firm in confronting that threat.

It was to underscore our refusal to be intimidated that, along with other bi-

partisan cosponsors of H.R. 1838, we introduced the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act last May. This legislation, H.R. 1838, as reported by our Committee on International Relations, is delicately balanced. It reflects a compromise worked out by two of our distinguished Members in this body with years of experience in Asian security matters, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), the chairman of our Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, and the gentleman from California (Mr. COX), the chairman of our House Republican Policy Committee. They labored diligently for many weeks to work out language that they believe appropriately addressed the very sensitive security situation.

This is a fair and balanced rule deserving of our support. Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to vote in favor of the rule.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. SWEENEY).

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important that we speak very clearly and distinctly to ensure that we protect stability and peace throughout the world, and that is why I rise today in support of this rule and the underlying legislation.

The Republic of China has proven itself to be a strong, independent democracy, in stark contrast from Mainland China's campaign of military and psychological intimidation.

We can take great comfort in our present state of affairs. However, we must realize that peace is difficult to achieve and its maintenance is fragile; and one of the greatest threats to that that exists anywhere in the world is no more so in the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan is a country that deserves our continuing support, especially during these critical times.

In 1979 the United States made an obligation to this nation to provide defensive arms "in such a quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." That was a direct quote and what should be a continuing commitment.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act continues to strengthen this commitment. As China continues its drive for military modernization and intensifies its efforts to procure weapons of mass destruction, cross-strait stability is at direct risk.

It is a known fact that China is using U.S. satellite and space technology to enhance its national defense economy and national prestige and thus poses a tremendous threat to Taiwan.

Mr. Speaker, today we have an opportunity to do something positive to counter such aggression. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act is an excellent vehicle through which the United States can begin to rectify this growing imbalance.

Make no mistake, Mr. Speaker, China, Asia, and the rest of the world is watching to see our resolve in standing up for democracy in Taiwan. Our commitments today will have enormous implication on the future leadership role in Asia. China is counting on a reduced military presence in Asia while they are continuing their improvements. I urge all my colleagues to support this act.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in favor of this rule and in favor of this bill. This legislation is a response to a number of events that have happened over the last 5 years that have shaped the current United States-Taiwan relationship. The live-fire missile exercises in the Taiwan Strait by China and the strong U.S. response reinforced the fact that Taiwan must be strong militarily.

This legislation is an attempt to address these concerns and clarify some of the ambiguity that exists in the U.S.-Taiwan relationship. I commend the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) and the ranking member, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDESEN), for improving this bill in the Committee on International Relations.

This bill would improve communications between the United States military and the Taiwan military, it would improve the sharing of data, it would improve training, it would improve our relations. And that is a very good thing to accomplish. It is my hope that House passage of this legislation would send a clear signal to China about the strong U.S. commitment to Taiwanese security.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Colorado (Mr. SCHAFER).

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, just 3 days ago I had the opportunity to meet in Los Angeles with Governor Annette Lu, who is one of the regional governors in Taiwan and also a vice-presidential candidate under the Democratic Progressive Party in Taiwan. The election that she is involved in will be concluded on March 18th.

We had about a half hour of conversation about this very issue. In that conversation, she was very direct in pointing out the importance of this Congress, speaking forcefully and boldly with respect to our relationship with Taiwan and our support for self-determination in Taiwan.

Mr. Speaker, from the perspective of this Congress, we really have not been ambivalent over the years about where we stand, where the people of the United States stand. That position, however, has been obscured somewhat by various diplomatic decisions that

have been made, statements coming out of the White House and others. So it is important, I submit, to restate with further clarity and further definition our alliance with the people of Taiwan, our unification and our belief that democracy works, that freedom is always better than the tyranny of an oppressive political form of government, and, particularly at this time, where the people of Taiwan are poised to make a decision of paramount importance about their own individual future, their own individual liberty.

At this time there should be no confusion among those in Taiwan as to where we stand, which is shoulder to shoulder with the people of Taiwan. That is a policy that I, once again, Mr. Speaker, say has been clearly defined by this Congress, clearly defined by the people of the United States. It is one that needs to be restated right now at an important time, not only for ourselves, but for Taiwan as well. It is an important message to convey, not just to Beijing; it is an important message to convey here in Congress and on Capitol Hill, because we have seen the record in the past.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey, (Mr. ANDREWS).

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from New York for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the cause of freedom, in strong support of a strong foreign policy for our country, in support of this rule and support of this bill. I congratulate and thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDESEN), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and his Democratic colleagues for bringing this important legislation forward.

I believe we have an emerging consensus about U.S. foreign policy that has two points. The first point is that we should use our military and diplomatic might to challenge those who would use brute force over the rule of law, which is why we successfully interceded in Kosovo, which is why we have been willing to exert that force in Bosnia, which is why we protected the people of the Persian Gulf against the tyranny of Saddam Hussein. It is a wise and judicious use of the global power that we have accumulated through the courage and conviction of our military leaders, our men and women in uniform, and our diplomats.

The second aspect of our foreign policy consensus is that we will reward and incentivise democracy, respect for human rights and the free flow of goods and services in the economic realm. I think that is a very wise and prudent course for us to follow.

Now, we have our disagreements as to how to apply those principles, and we will have those disagreements as

the year goes on, but I believe that there is no piece of legislation more representative of that principle than the one that will be before us very shortly.

Mr. Speaker, the freedom-loving people of Taiwan deserve not only our commendation, but our support. The economic miracle over which they preside every day, the powerhouse of freedom and dynamism that their efforts represent, should receive our continuing support. But, more importantly, when they are menaced by the threat of being overwhelmed militarily, when there are nuclear weapons exercises, when there are hostile words spoken by the People's Republic of China, I believe we have a responsibility to act forcefully.

Acting forcefully means being prepared militarily. The essence of the bill that is before us is to enhance the preparedness of freedom-loving people in Taiwan and to support that preparedness here in the United States. Military training, the sharing of technology, the reaffirmation of principles that were enacted in the 1979 law are all very, very appropriate here.

The relationship between two countries is a complex phenomena. The relationship between us and the People's Republic of China is a relationship that will receive great attention on this floor this year. But I believe that one aspect of that relationship that needs to be reaffirmed with great clarity, that I would ask us to affirm with great clarity here today, is that freedom is not negotiable where we stand, and we do stand with the freedom-loving people of Taiwan.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the support and passage of this rule and this bill.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. COX).

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to follow my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS). I agree entirely with what he said and with what speakers before him have said on both sides of the aisle, both on the subject of this rule and on the underlying bill.

The passage of this rule, which, as by now it is abundantly clear has won bipartisan support, will permit us to debate the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which will reaffirm America's long-standing Taiwan policy, in place since President Eisenhower.

In 1979 Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, and what we are doing today is making clear that we wish to see that act enforced in full. Today, even more than in 1979 when that law was passed, Taiwanese security is critical to America's interests. Taiwan is now America's seventh largest trading partner. Taiwan buys far more from the United States than does the People's Republic of China; the sea lanes surrounding Taiwan are vital to the

economic health of Asia and to the sustained growth of U.S. exports to Asia; and, most important of all, a democratic Taiwan stands as a living example to all the people of China that they too can build a prosperous peaceful democracy.

Taiwan does not in any way pose a threat to the People's Republic of China; but Taiwanese example of democracy, freedom of speech and freedom of thought, do pose a threat to the Communist government in Beijing.

Fundamentally, this bill will allow our military to have relations with Taiwanese forces, as close as what the Clinton-Gore administration is already pursuing with the People's Liberation Army. This upgrading of our military relations with Taiwan must occur now, in a time of relative stability. It would be too late, if not too provocative, to accomplish these changes in a time of actual crisis. But the State Department currently bars senior U.S. military officers from meeting with their Taiwan counterparts, while, meanwhile, enhanced contacts between United States and People's Liberation Army officers of all ranks has been a priority for the Clinton-Gore administration.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act provides that our field rank officers can have the same level of relations with the friendly defensive force as they currently have with the Communist People's Liberation Army.

This rule and this bill are, as I said, hugely bipartisan. The vote in committee was 32 to 6. The vote today, I expect, on this rule and on the underlying bill will be similarly overwhelmingly bipartisan for one simple reason: this Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, are committed to freedom and democracy for the people of Taiwan, for the people of Taiwan and for the people of all the world.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I agree fully with the premise of this legislation. There must be clarity and certainty in our commitment to the security of Taiwan, and the reunification of China can only occur peacefully. It must occur peacefully. Thus, we stand firmly with the security of our friends on Taiwan.

□ 1300

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 408, I call up the bill (H.R. 1838) to assist in the enhancement of the security of Taiwan, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Pursuant to House Resolution 408, the bill is considered read for amendment.

The text of H.R. 1838 is as follows:

H.R. 1838

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Taiwan Security Enhancement Act".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Since 1949, the close relationship between the United States and Taiwan has been of enormous benefit to both societies.

(2) In recent years, Taiwan has undergone a major political transformation, and Taiwan is today a true multiparty democracy with a political system separate from and totally unlike that of the People's Republic of China.

(3) The economy of Taiwan is based upon free market principles and is separate and distinct from the People's Republic of China.

(4) Although on January 1, 1979, the United States Government withdrew diplomatic recognition of the government on Taiwan as the legitimate government of China, neither at that time nor since has the United States Government adopted a formal position as to the ultimate status of Taiwan other than to state that status must be decided by peaceful means. Any determination of the ultimate status of Taiwan must have the express consent of the people on Taiwan.

(5) The government on Taiwan no longer claims to be the sole legitimate government of all of China.

(6) The Taiwan Relations Act (Public Law 96-8) states that—

(A) peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States and are of international concern;

(B) the decision of the United States to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means;

(C) the United States would consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific region and of grave concern to the United States;

(D) the United States will maintain the capacity to resist any form of coercion that jeopardizes the security, or the social or the economic system, of the people on Taiwan; and

(E) the preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are objectives of the United States.

(7) On the basis of these provisions, the Taiwan Relations Act establishes on the part of the United States a continuing connection with and concern for Taiwan, its people, and their ability to maintain themselves free of coercion and free of the use of force against them. The maintenance by Taiwan of forces adequate for defense and deterrence is in the interest of the United States in that it helps to maintain peace in the Taiwan Strait area.

(8) Since 1954, when the United States and Taiwan signed the Mutual Defense Treaty, the United States and Taiwan have maintained a defense and security relationship that has contributed greatly to freedom, peace, and stability in Taiwan and the East Asia and Pacific regions.

(9) The United States and Taiwan no longer conduct joint training missions, have no direct military lines of communication, and have only limited military-to-military contacts. This lack of communication and interoperability between the United States and Taiwan hinders planning for the defense of Taiwan and could prove detrimental in the event of future aggression against Taiwan.

(10) Since 1979, the United States has continued to sell defensive weapons to Taiwan in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act, and such sales have helped Taiwan maintain its autonomy and freedom in the face of persistent hostility from the People's Republic of China. However, pressures to delay, deny, and reduce arms sales to Taiwan have been prevalent since the signing of the August 17, 1982, communique with the People's Republic of China. Over time, such delays, denials, and reductions could prevent Taiwan from maintaining a sufficient capability for self-defense.

(11) As has been affirmed on several occasions by the executive branch of Government, the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act take legal precedence over any communique with the People's Republic of China.

(12) The People's Republic of China has consistently refused to renounce the use of force against Taiwan and has repeatedly threatened force against Taiwan, including implied threats by unnamed People's Republic of China officials on January 10, 1999, who warned Taiwan not to participate in the development of theater missile defense capabilities with the United States.

(13) The missile firings by the People's Republic of China near Taiwan in August 1995 and March 1996 clearly demonstrate the willingness of the People's Republic of China to use forceful tactics to limit the freedom of the people on Taiwan.

(14) As most nations in East Asia reduce military spending, the People's Republic of China continues a major and comprehensive military buildup.

(15)(A) This military buildup includes the development of advanced ballistic and cruise missiles that will incorporate precision guidance capability and the construction of new imaging, radar, navigation, and electronic intelligence satellites that will help target and guide ballistic and cruise missiles.

(B) According to the Department of Defense report entitled "The Security Situation in the Taiwan Strait", submitted to Congress in February 1999, the size of the missile force of the People's Republic of China is expected to grow substantially and, by 2005, the People's Republic of China will possess an "overwhelming advantage" in offensive missiles vis-a-vis Taiwan.

(C) The Department of Defense has also noted that the People's Republic of China may already possess the capability to damage satellite optical sensors with lasers, is researching advanced anti-satellite lasers that could blind United States intelligence satellites, and is procuring radio frequency weapons that disable electronic equipment.

(D) These missile and anti-satellite capabilities pose a grave threat to Taiwan.

(16) This military buildup also includes the construction or procurement from abroad of advanced naval systems, including Russian Kilo submarines that are difficult to detect, Russian technology to assist the development of new nuclear-powered attack submarines, Russian Sovremenny class destroyers armed with supersonic SS-N-22 Sunburn anti-ship missiles, a new long-range, all-weather naval attack aircraft called the JH-7, and new indigenous land-attack cruise

missiles that could be launched from submarines, ships, and naval attack aircraft. These naval capabilities pose a grave threat of blockade to Taiwan.

(17) This military buildup also includes the improvement of air combat capabilities by procuring and co-producing hundreds of Russian Sukhoi Su-27 fighters, seeking to purchase Russian Su-30 all-weather attack aircraft, arming these aircraft with advanced air-to-air missiles such as the Russian R-77 missile and other precision guided munitions, constructing the indigenously designed J-10 fighter, and seeking advanced airborne warning and control systems from abroad. These capabilities pose a grave airborne threat to Taiwan.

(18) Because of the introduction of advanced submarines into the Taiwan Strait area by the People's Republic of China and the increasing capability of the People's Republic of China to blockade Taiwan, Taiwan needs to acquire diesel-powered submarines in order to maintain a capability to counter a blockade, to conduct antisubmarine warfare training, and for other purposes.

(19) Because of the democratic form of government on Taiwan and the historically non-aggressive foreign policy of Taiwan, it is highly unlikely that Taiwan would use submarines in an offensive manner.

(20) The current defense relationship between the United States and Taiwan is deficient in terms of its capacity over the long term to counter and deter potential aggression against Taiwan by the People's Republic of China.

SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

(a) TRAINING OF TAIWAN MILITARY OFFICERS.—It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of Defense and the Secretaries of the military departments should make every effort to reserve additional positions for Taiwan military officers at the National Defense University and other professional military education schools specified in section 2162(d) of title 10, United States Code, and for prospective Taiwan military officers at the United States Military Academy, the United States Naval Academy, and the Air Force Academy.

(b) FOREIGN MILITARY SALES.—It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of State should, when considering foreign military sales to Taiwan—

(1) take into account the special status of Taiwan; and

(2) make every effort to ensure that Taiwan has full and timely access to price and availability data for defense articles and defense services.

SEC. 4. DETERMINATIONS OF DEFENSE NEEDS OF TAIWAN.

(a) INCREASE IN TECHNICAL STAFF OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE IN TAIWAN.—Upon the request of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, the President shall use funds available to the Department of Defense under the Arms Export Control Act for the assignment or detail of additional technical staff to the American Institute in Taiwan.

(b) ANNUAL REPORTS.—Beginning 60 days after the next round of arms talks between the United States and Taiwan, and annually thereafter, the President shall submit a report to Congress—

(1) detailing each of Taiwan's requests for purchase of defense articles and defense services during the one-year period ending on the date of the report;

(2) describing the defense needs asserted by Taiwan as justification for those requests; and

(3) describing any decision to reject, postpone, or modify any such request that was

made during the one-year period ending on the date of the report, the level at which the final decision was made, and a justification for the decision.

SEC. 5. STRENGTHENING THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN.

(a) MAINTENANCE OF SUFFICIENT SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITIES OF TAIWAN.—Congress finds that any determination of the nature or quantity of defense articles or defense services to be made available to Taiwan that is made on any basis other than the defense needs of Taiwan, whether pursuant to the August 17, 1982, Communiqué signed with the People's Republic of China, or any similar executive agreement, order, or policy would violate the intent of Congress in the enactment of section 3(b) of the Taiwan Relations Act (22 U.S.C. 3302(b)).

(b) PLAN REGARDING COMBINED TRAINING AND PERSONNEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.—

(1) DEVELOPMENT.—The Secretary of Defense, in consultation with the Secretary of State, shall develop a plan for the enhancement of programs and arrangements for operational training and exchanges of personnel between the Armed Forces of the United States and the armed forces of Taiwan for work in threat analysis, doctrine, force planning, operational methods, and other areas. The plan shall provide for exchanges of officers up to and including general and flag officers in the grade of O-10.

(2) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense shall submit a report to Congress, in classified or unclassified form, containing the plan required under paragraph (1).

(3) IMPLEMENTATION.—Not later than 210 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense shall implement the plan required under paragraph (1).

(c) COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND TAIWAN MILITARY COMMANDS.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense shall establish secure direct communications between the United States Pacific military command and the Taiwan military command.

(d) MISSILE DEFENSE EQUIPMENT.—Subject to subsection (h), the President is authorized to make available for sale to Taiwan, at reasonable cost, theater missile defense equipment and related items, including—

(1) ground-based and naval-based missile defense systems; and

(2) reconnaissance and communications systems, as may be necessary to target and cue missile defense systems sold to Taiwan.

(e) SATELLITE EARLY WARNING DATA.—Subject to subsection (h), the President is authorized to make available for sale to Taiwan, at reasonable cost, satellite early warning data.

(f) AIR DEFENSE EQUIPMENT.—Subject to subsection (h), the President is authorized to make available for sale to Taiwan, at reasonable cost, modern air-defense equipment, including the following:

(1) AIM-120 AMRAAM air-to-air missiles.

(2) Additional advanced fighters and airborne warning and control systems (AWACS).

(3) Equipment to better defend airfields from air and missile attack.

(4) Communications infrastructure that enables coordinated joint-force air defense of Taiwan.

(g) NAVAL DEFENSE SYSTEMS.—Subject to subsection (h), the President is authorized to make available for sale to Taiwan, at reasonable cost, defensive systems that counter the

development by the People's Republic of China of new naval capabilities, including defense systems such as—

(1) diesel-powered submarines;

(2) anti-submarine systems, including airborne systems, capable of detecting new Kilo and advanced Chinese nuclear submarines;

(3) naval anti-missile systems, including Aegis destroyers, capable of defeating foreign supersonic anti-ship missiles; and

(4) communications systems that better enable Taiwan to conduct joint-force naval defense operations.

(h) RELATION TO ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT.—Nothing in this section supersedes or modifies the application of section 36 of the Arms Export Control Act to the sale of any defense article or defense service under this section.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The amendment printed in the bill is adopted.

The text of H.R. 1838, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 1838

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Taiwan Security Enhancement Act".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds the following:

(1) Since 1949, the close relationship between the United States and Taiwan has been of enormous benefit to both societies.

(2) In recent years, Taiwan has undergone a major political transformation, and Taiwan is today a true multiparty democracy with a political system separate from and totally unlike that of the People's Republic of China.

(3) The economy of Taiwan is based upon free market principles and is separate and distinct from the People's Republic of China.

(4) Although on January 1, 1979, the United States Government withdrew diplomatic recognition of the government on Taiwan as the legitimate government of China, neither at that time nor since has the United States Government adopted a formal position as to the ultimate status of Taiwan other than to state that status must be decided by peaceful means. Any determination of the ultimate status of Taiwan must have the express consent of the people on Taiwan.

(5) The People's Republic of China refuses to renounce the use of force against democratic Taiwan.

(6) The Taiwan Relations Act has been instrumental in maintaining peace, security, and stability in the Taiwan Strait and the Western Pacific since its enactment in 1979.

(7) The Taiwan Relations Act (Public Law 96-8) states that—

(A) peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States and are of international concern;

(B) the decision of the United States to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means;

(C) the United States would consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific region and of grave concern to the United States;

(D) the United States will maintain the capacity to resist any form of coercion that jeopardizes the security, or the social or economic system, of the people of Taiwan; and

(E) the preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all people on Taiwan are objectives of the United States.

(8) The Taiwan Relations Act establishes on the part of the United States a continuing connection with and concern for Taiwan and its people. Continued adherence to the Act will help Taiwan to maintain its democracy free of coercion and to safeguard its people from the use of force against them. Furthermore, the maintenance by Taiwan of forces adequate for its defense is in the interest of the United States in that it helps to maintain peace in the Western Pacific region.

(9) The military modernization and weapons procurement efforts by the People's Republic of China, as documented in the February 1, 1999, report by the Secretary of Defense on "The Security Situation in the Taiwan Strait", could threaten cross-Strait stability and United States interests in the Asia-Pacific region.

(10) The Taiwan Relations Act provides explicit guarantees that the United States will make available defense articles and services necessary in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability.

(11) The Taiwan Relations Act requires timely reviews by United States military authorities of Taiwan's defense needs in connection with recommendations to the President and the Congress.

(12) Congress and the President are committed by the Taiwan Relations Act to determine the nature and quantity of Taiwan's legitimate self-defense needs.

(13) It is the policy of the United States to reject any attempt to curb the provision by the United States of defense articles and services legitimately needed for Taiwan's self-defense.

(14) In accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States has, since 1979, sold defensive weapons to Taiwan, and such sales have helped Taiwan maintain its autonomy and freedom. The Congress supports the continued provision of additional defense articles and defense services in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act.

(15) It is in the national interest of the United States to eliminate ambiguity and convey with clarity continued United States support for Taiwan, its people, and their ability to maintain their democracy free from coercion and their society free from the use of force against them. Lack of clarity could lead to unnecessary misunderstandings or confrontations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, with grave consequences for the security of the Western Pacific region.

(16) A possible consequence of such ambiguity and lack of clarity was the People's Republic of China's decision to conduct military exercises and live fire missile tests in the Taiwan Strait in March 1996, necessitating House Concurrent Resolution 148, approved by the House of Representatives by a vote of 369-14 on March 19, 1996, and by the Senate by a vote of 97-0 on March 21, 1996, which stated that "the United States, in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act and the constitutional process of the United States, and consistent with its friendship with and commitment to the democratic government and people of Taiwan, should assist in defending them against invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China." Immediately following Congressional passage of House Concurrent Resolution 148, the United States deployed on an emergency basis two aircraft carrier battle groups to the Taiwan Strait, after which the People's Republic of China ceased further planned military exercises.

(17) An earlier consequence of such ambiguity and lack of clarity was the expressed

surprise by the People's Republic of China that Congress and the American people fully supported President Lee Teng-hui's private visit to his alma mater, Cornell University, necessitating House Concurrent Resolution 53, approved by the House of Representatives by a vote of 390-0 on May 2, 1995, and by the Senate by a vote of 97-1 on May 9, 1995, which stated such support explicitly.

SEC. 3. TRAINING OF MILITARY OFFICERS AND SALE OF DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES TO TAIWAN.

(a) TRAINING OF TAIWAN MILITARY OFFICERS.—The Secretary of Defense and the Secretaries of the military departments shall make every effort to reserve additional positions for Taiwan military officers at the National Defense University and other professional military education schools specified in section 2162(d) of title 10, United States Code, and for prospective Taiwan military officers at the United States Naval Academy, and the Air Force Academy.

(b) FOREIGN MILITARY SALES.—The Secretary of State shall, when considering foreign military sales to Taiwan—

(1) take into account the special status of Taiwan, including the defense needs of Taiwan in response to the military modernization and weapons procurement efforts by the People's Republic of China; and

(2) make every effort to ensure that Taiwan has full and timely access to price and availability data for defense articles and defense services.

SEC. 4. DETERMINATIONS OF DEFENSE NEEDS OF TAIWAN.

(a) INCREASE IN TECHNICAL STAFF OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE IN TAIWAN.—Upon the request of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, the President shall use funds available to the Department of Defense under the Arms Export Control Act for the employment of additional technical staff at the American Institute in Taiwan.

(b) ANNUAL REPORTS.—Beginning 60 days after the next round of arms talks between the United States and Taiwan, and annually thereafter, the President shall submit a report to Congress, in classified and unclassified form—

(1) detailing each of Taiwan's requests for purchase of defense articles and defense services during the one-year period ending on the date of the report;

(2) describing the defense needs asserted by Taiwan as justification for those requests; and

(3) describing the decision-making process used to reject, postpone, or modify any such request.

SEC. 5. STRENGTHENING THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN.

(a) MAINTENANCE OF SUFFICIENT SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITIES OF TAIWAN.—Congress finds that any determination of the nature or quantity of defense articles or defense services to be made available to Taiwan that is made on any basis other than section 3(b) of the Taiwan Relations Act (22 U.S.C. 3302(b)), whether such alternative basis is the August 17, 1982, communique signed with the People's Republic of China, or any similar executive agreement, order, or policy, would violate the intent of Congress in the enactment of such Act.

(b) COMBINED TRAINING AND PERSONNEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.—Not later than 210 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense shall implement a plan for the enhancement of programs and arrangements for operational training and exchanges of senior officers between the Armed

Forces of the United States and the armed forces of Taiwan for work in threat analysis, doctrine, force planning, operational methods, and other areas. At least 30 days prior to such implementation, the Secretary of Defense shall submit the plan to Congress, in classified and unclassified form.

(c) REPORT REGARDING MAINTENANCE OF SUFFICIENT SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITIES.—Not later than 45 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the Congress, in classified and unclassified form, an annual report on the security situation in the Taiwan Strait. Such report shall include an analysis of the military forces facing Taiwan from the People's Republic of China, evaluating recent additions to the offensive military capability of the People's Republic of China. The report shall include, but not be limited to, an analysis of the surface and subsurface naval threats, the ballistic missile threat, the air threat, and the threat to the military and civilian communications links in Taiwan. The report shall include a review of the steps taken by the armed forces of Taiwan to address its security situation.

(d) COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND TAIWAN MILITARY COMMANDS.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense shall certify to the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate that direct secure communications exist between the armed forces of the United States and the armed forces of Taiwan.

(e) RELATION TO ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT.—Nothing in this section supersedes or modifies the application of section 36 of the Arms Export Control Act to the sale of any defense article or defense service under this section.

SEC. 6. REPORT REGARDING THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO RESPOND IN ASIA-PACIFIC CONTINGENCIES THAT INCLUDE TAIWAN.

(a) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and updated as appropriate, the Secretary of Defense shall prepare and submit to the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate a report in classified and unclassified form on the ability of the United States to successfully respond to a major contingency in the Asia-Pacific region where United States interests on Taiwan are at risk.

(b) CONTENTS.—The report described in subsection (a) shall include—

(1) a description of planning on the national, operational, and tactical levels to respond to, prosecute, and achieve United States strategic objectives with respect to a major contingency described in subsection (a); and

(2) a description of the confidence level of the Secretary of Defense in United States military capabilities to successfully respond to such a contingency.

(c) PREPARATION OF REPORT.—In preparing the report under subsection (a), the Secretary of Defense shall use the resources and expertise of the relevant unified commands, military departments, the combat support agencies, and the defense components of the intelligence community, as required, and

other such entities within the Department of Defense as the Secretary considers necessary.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act introduced in the House by the Majority Whip, gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), which I am pleased to cosponsor.

Along with other Members on both sides of the aisle, I am increasingly concerned that the People's Republic of China, their security policy, and their unprecedented military modernization efforts, especially as it affects peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait, is deserving of our attention.

In fact, in September 1999, Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji warned that sooner or later the PRC would have to use force against Taiwan to unify it with the Mainland, and I quote, "because the Chinese people will become impatient," closed quote.

The reality is that China's military power is growing and the modernization of the People's Liberation Army, the PLA, is an important goal of the Chinese leadership and part of its game plan in regard to Taiwan. Reported plans to a transition from a defensive-oriented force to an offensive one, with power projection capabilities, should not be viewed as benign, as seen by some, but as part of Beijing's efforts to expand China's ability to address the Taiwan question militarily.

The PRC's conventional military buildup is evidenced by a growing short-range ballistic missile arsenal; the development of airborne warning and control systems and a variety of cruise missiles; and the purchases of advanced Russian fighters, destroyers and antiship missiles, air defense systems and submarines.

These military developments are further aggravated by Beijing's outright refusal to renounce the use of force against Taiwan and its increasingly aggressive rhetoric toward Taipei.

Regrettably, the policy of the PRC may ultimately force our Nation to undertake serious national security policy decisions involving the employment of American military forces in that region.

In response, our Nation has steadfastly met its security commitments to Taipei as stipulated in the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, the TRA. This means insisting Taiwan maintain the military balance of power across the Taiwan Strait in the face of the PRC's unprecedented military buildup. A failure to meet Taiwan's legitimate defensive needs will make China's military dominance in the Taiwan Strait a reality and could encourage Beijing to seek the military solution to the Taiwan question.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation has security commitments to Taiwan. The TRA states that peace and stability in the area are in our Nation's interest. The future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means and any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means will be considered a threat to the peace and security of the western Pacific and of grave concern to our Nation. The United States will provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character while maintaining the capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the people of Taiwan.

An unwillingness to provide for Taiwan's legitimate defensive requirements, including anti-submarine warfare capacity, naval service combatants, missile and air defense systems, could lead to a miscalculation by Beijing and could lead to a conflict with Taiwan or even with our own Nation.

It is my belief, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that ensuring and enhancing Taiwan's ability to defend itself increases the prospects for continued peace and stability in northeast Asia and supports our own national interest. The Congress must act to make clear to Beijing that our Nation will continue its long-standing commitment to a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. I, therefore, support this legislation's efforts to enhance Taiwan's self-defense capability and to strengthen American foreign policy in the Pacific.

Accordingly, I call upon the administration to develop a mechanism for consultation with Congress on arms sales to Taiwan as called for in this fiscal year's omnibus appropriations bill and the Taiwan Relations Act. The administration's refusal to consult with the Congress on this issue is unconscionable and stands in violation of the TRA.

Mr. Speaker, deterring conflict and promoting peace across the Taiwan Strait is an important American national interest. This bill supports those principles. I am proud to cosponsor this legislation. It has an impressive array of cosponsors from both sides of the aisle, and I want to remind our colleagues that it was a former Member of Congress, the chairman of our Committee on Rules, Mr. Solomon, that urged this many years ago. I urge my colleagues to strongly support this

measure and to send a signal to the region that our Nation is engaged and committed to a peaceful resolution of Taiwan's future.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) on the work he has done to make this a better piece of legislation. I think the committee's effort frankly created a product that the majority of Congress can be proud of.

What we have here in 1838, as it was reported from the Committee on International Relations, is a piece of legislation that clearly states the recognition that the United States Congress feels it is important for the United States to continue, as the Clinton administration has done and previous administrations have done, to maintain our relationship with a democratic government in Taiwan.

Taiwan is a country with full democratic institutions. It deserves to have a full measure of support from the United States Congress.

The People's Republic of China would have one believe that if the United States speaks clearly here, that somehow that is destabilizing. I would hope that the people in Beijing recognize that America's commitment to the independent political system that now exists on Taiwan is not an argument against some future mutually-agreed upon union, but we certainly oppose any militarily-imposed program.

We see the present situation as this: A clear statement for the United States about Taiwan's right to continue its political operations is critical to the whole world. We are particularly troubled by the Chinese Government and its recent repressive acts, as we see what has happened in China with a number of groups, attacks on the Internet; in Tibet, the situation there continues to worsen. We feel that this legislation is a clear statement of the commitment of the United States Congress to the Taiwan Relations Act and to strengthening relations between Congress and Taiwan.

Rather than worrying about this increasing tensions between the United States and the Mainland, it should clearly delineate our interests and our concerns. Where there is less confusion and less uncertainty, it should actually create a more stable situation.

China itself, the Mainland, has further developed its ballistic and cruise missiles. It has increased the size of its missile force. It has acquired and constructed advanced naval systems. It is in the process of, frankly, improving its air capabilities and has been a significant proliferator in a number of dangerous technologies around the

planet, including in Asia and elsewhere, where Chinese military proliferation and technology has been quite destabilizing.

I believe the Clinton administration already fully complies with much of what is in this legislation. Under the Clinton administration, the U.S. has concluded nearly \$2 billion in arms sales with Taiwan, which has consistently ranked among the top recipients of U.S. military equipment, and the Clinton administration is now in the process of looking at additional military transfers to Taiwan, as well as assistance in the training of the military personnel.

Communication between Taiwan and the United States will again, frankly, I think, create a more stable situation. The People's Republic of China continues to jail its citizens simply because they want to express their views. Whether they are Christians or in Tibet, whether they are part of the Falun Gong or other organizations, the Chinese Mainland has to end these restrictions against its own people if it wants to become a member of the wider world community.

The U.S. and the U.S. Congress has often been the first institution to speak out for democratic values and democratic countries around the world, and democratic aspirations. I think what we do here today sends a very clear signal that we continue to believe and speak strongly for those democratic values as they exist in Taiwan in the hope that we will see similar institutions develop on the Mainland.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the ranking minority Member, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), for his supporting remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SALMON), a member of our committee.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Speaker, since I lived in Taiwan in the 1970s, I have seen the Republic of China emerge as a leading economic and political force throughout the world. The people of Taiwan have experienced unprecedented prosperity and freedom, liberties that we as Americans hold so dear. However, I am strongly opposed to this legislation.

I just led a congressional delegation to China with five of my colleagues, a bipartisan delegation, where we personally met with President Jiang Zemin and President Lee Teng-hui. I discussed the importance of constructive engagement between the United States and China and also stressed the significance of continued dialogue between Mainland China and Taiwan.

Specifically, I raised the issue of Mr. Song Yongyi, a Dickinson College librarian who was detained last August for allegedly trying to smuggle secret documents out of China.

After discussing very openly and honestly the facts surrounding Mr. Song's case, I appealed to President Jiang for his release.

On Friday, Mr. Song was released and returned to Pennsylvania where he was reunited with his wife. I greeted him Saturday at the airport in Philadelphia. I believe this gesture by the Chinese government speaks volumes.

Mr. Song's release is testimony that engagement, not isolationism, is the best course of action for U.S.-Sino relations.

While I know the intention of this legislation is to ease tensions and lessen ambiguity, I believe it will have the exact opposite effect. I believe the Taiwan Relations Act has effectively communicated the position of the United States regarding Taiwan.

Furthermore, I have reiterated our position to the Chinese Government that provocation of Taiwan is something we take very seriously and our support of Taiwan is unequivocal. If they attack Taiwan, we would defend her.

In fact, on my recent visit to China, I expressed my concern about China's position toward Taiwan to the chairman of the Association for Cross Strait Relations, Mr. Wang Daohan. He assured me that a one-China policy could mean many things and that they were very flexible on how to get there.

I can understand the rationale for bringing this legislation to the floor but there are far more productive ways to promote peace and security in the nation.

In summation, I would just like to say I think this will have the opposite of the intended effect. It will stifle dialogue between Taiwan and China. It will hurt Taiwan. I am pro-Taiwan. I know the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) is pro-Taiwan, but we believe this is wrong.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, this is a fascinating debate because on many issues we clearly agree. We certainly agree that the United States is absolutely committed to the safety and security of Taiwan. As a matter of fact, it was the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations who reminded us a few minutes ago that when the government in Beijing was making hostile moves, this administration sent two aircraft carrier battle groups to the Straits of Taiwan to underscore our unshakable commitment to the security of Taiwan.

We all agree on this. We all rejoice in the democracy that Taiwan has built and in the prosperity that its people have created.

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, will not add one single missile to Taiwan's defense capability and it will not take away one single missile from China's military capabilities.

□ 1315

It will do nothing, repeat, nothing to enhance the military security of Taiwan.

Many years ago, when I was a young faculty member at the University of Washington in Seattle, I had two friends, distinguished senior members of the faculty, both of whom hated smoking. One of them, who had considerable gravitas and enjoyed great respect, had a sign in his office which said "no smoking." Nobody ever smoked in that office. My other friend, much more easygoing, in some ways less respected, had a sign which said "positively no smoking." Every time you went into his office, you could barely see him because the smoke was so dense.

What we are doing now, we are saying the sign "no smoking" does not do the job, so we are going to say "positively no smoking," and we think that this will have a salutary impact.

Teddy Roosevelt reminded us a long time ago that for a superpower to be effective, it should talk softly and carry a big stick. It has been good advice since Teddy Roosevelt's day, and it is equally good advice in this instance.

I have not heard one of my colleagues make one single observation critical of the Taiwan Relations Act, under which we and Taiwan have functioned for over 20 years. The Taiwan Relations Act, which we all support, which has been on the books for more than two decades, was sufficient to provide Taiwan all the conceivable military equipment Taiwan needed. It provided a framework for Taiwan to develop one of the most prosperous economies, one of the most technologically advanced economies, on the face of this planet. And, to top it all, it allowed Taiwan to develop a full-fledged functioning political democracy, all this under the Taiwan Relations Act.

If my colleagues had been able to indicate that we need something new, something special which is not taking place today, I could see some reason for this legislation. Even on the issue of providing more space at our military academies for young, qualified Taiwanese officers, there is zero guarantee in this legislation that a single Taiwanese will be able to attend West Point or Annapolis or the Air Force Academy as a result of this legislation.

The legislation does no good. The question is, does it do any harm. I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, it does a great deal of harm. It exacerbates the already tenuous relationship across the Taiwan Straits. It physically provides nothing new for Taiwan except enhanced anxiety, and postpones the day

when the cross-channel dialogue, the cross-straits dialogue, will bring about an amicable resolution of the Taiwan-China conflict.

We are equally committed, all of us in this Chamber, to Taiwan's physical security, economic prosperity, and political democracy. This measure is not only redundant, it is counterproductive. It will undermine and erode the stability, however tenuous, in the region without adding a single component which could be pointed to as positive, either in Taiwan-China relations or in U.S.-Taiwan relations or U.S.-China relations.

Sometimes in the legislative process bills are introduced, people get committed to them, and then it becomes embarrassing to say, well, maybe it was not necessary. Perhaps we should drop it. That is the situation in which we now find ourselves.

I have listened to this debate with great care. There has not been a single item advanced by any of my good friends on other side of the aisle that would persuade me in the slightest that this piece of legislation is needed.

Taiwan has received every single military item that it would be able to receive under this proposed new legislation. Our commitment has been steadfast. The President ordered two aircraft carrier battle groups to the Taiwan Straits when there was trouble. Should there be new trouble, this president or the next president will do the same. We know this. The Chinese know this.

This legislation is a redundancy at best, and counterproductive at worst. I strongly urge my colleagues to defeat it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BUYER).

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. This legislation represents a significant step to clearing up any ambiguities with regard to the United States' policies. It is the government of the Republic of China, not the Communist regime of the Peoples' Republic, that has free elections and a capitalistic system.

The Republic of China is America's ally. It is our strategic partner that supports America's goals in the Pacific region. In essence, we are partners in liberty. Both of our countries subscribe to the principles of freedom, the rule of law, human rights, peace, and economic prosperity. Our commitment to strengthening this partnership should be a priority.

Repeated Red Chinese military exercises in the Taiwan Straits and its pursuit to project military power beyond its own border continues to threaten Taiwan. These aggressive actions only serve to undermine the balance of security in the Pacific Rim and around the world.

Let me be very clear. The Communist regime of the People's Republic of China is actively working to undermine America's national security interests, not only in the Taiwan Straits but around the world. One only has to read the book "Unrestricted War." It was recently published by the Red Chinese military, and it outlines a strategy of how to undermine and defeat America's interests.

The tenets of this strategy include nontraditional methods of warfare, such as terrorism, drug trafficking, environmental degradation, computer virus propagation, as well as proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Chinese espionage activity and its continued pursuit of a combined arms warfare capability, missile launches in the Taiwan Straits, as well as Beijing's repeated rhetoric of political threats towards Taiwan, only serve to support the strategy.

Passage of this bill endorses and supports Taiwan and its hope for liberty and the pursuit of a freely elected and one democratic China. I urge my colleagues to adopt this resolution.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ).

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. I believe that once again the time has come for Congress to stand up for a democratic Taiwan, to reconfirm our commitment to Taiwan's security, and to act in such a way that we ensure the continuation of peace, stability, and security in the Taiwan Straits and the Pacific Rim.

Since the passage of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, the Congress has sought to strengthen U.S.-Taiwanese relations and ensure stability in the region by establishing that an attack against Taiwan is inimical to the security interests of the United States and will compel an American response.

China's true intentions towards Taiwan are clear. China is engaged in a military buildup in the Taiwan Straits. It is quite likely that the only deterrent to a Chinese invasion of Taiwan is the strong security commitment of the United States for its defense. I believe we must balance the desire by those in this House to trade with China with the resolve to send a clear message that that does not mean abandoning the Taiwanese.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act builds on a policy that has served American and Taiwanese interests well and fulfills our commitments to Taiwan's security as established by the Taiwan Relations Act. By doing several things that I believe are of consequence in terms of military cooperation with Taiwan, in terms of direct communications, in terms of Taiwan's military officers, in exchanges of senior officers, and in ensuring that they have full ac-

cess to defense articles and defense services, we will uphold the detente of deterrence that has served us since 1979.

Congress was right in 1979 to stand up for our democratic ally, Taiwan, and we are right today to pass legislation that will ensure another 20-plus years of peace, stability, and security in the region.

I urge every Member to support this bill. It is a reaffirmation of our support, our support for a democratic Taiwan and the continuation of peace in Taiwan Straits.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON), a member of our Committee on International Relations.

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going to speak long, but I really am firmly opposed to this particular amendment. I do not know why we are doing this at this particular time. Our policy now is effective. It has worked for 21 years. Why do we change it now, particularly with the very sensitive elections coming up now?

It is very easy to sit back here and intellectualize on a particular issue from our base in Washington, but if you are over in that part of the world, it is perceived differently.

I always remember talking to one of our distinguished Secretaries of State about his setting up an agenda between President Nixon and the Chinese, which happened to be Chou En Lai. He had at the top of his agenda the Taiwan issue, and at the bottom of the Chinese agenda, much to his surprise, was the Taiwan issue. He said, I thought this was very important to you. The answer from the Chinese, they said, it is, but in a way, it isn't. The only thing we ask you is do not embarrass us.

This is going to embarrass the Chinese. It is not necessary. Our policy works now. It has worked for over two decades. We ought to continue it as it is.

I oppose the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER).

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished leader, the gentleman from Connecticut, for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of a strong relationship between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan, but in opposition to this particular legislation. I do so reluctantly, but I do so for three reasons: first of all, because of the timing of this particular legislation on the House floor today, when so many important issues are going to be coming

up with Taiwan and the Peoples' Republic of China and our international relations in the ensuing months; secondly, because of the military aspects, that we do not need this, that we have a very strong relationship with the people of Taiwan now.

This is articulated very clearly in both the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and in the subsequent Shanghai communiques. We do not need this. We just had an arms sale a few years ago on F-16s for the people of Taiwan. We will continue to consider their requests and probably grant those requests in the future. So why do this now, from a military perspective or from a timing perspective?

Thirdly, Mr. Speaker, most importantly, it very much muddles the very important relationship that we have between the people of Taiwan and the people of the Peoples' Republic of China. We want our message to be one of peaceful reconciliation, and that the people of Taipei and the people of Beijing work peacefully through this, and not that the United States stand up on the House floor talking about military answers to these problems in the future.

We have strong moral support for the people of Taiwan. We have strategic advice that we give them now. We know that they will defend themselves with the weapons that we sell them. Now is not the time for this bill to go to the House floor.

□ 1330

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CALVERT).

Mr. CALVERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which was passed out of the Committee on International Relations with bipartisan support. I believe that some day a peaceful Chinese nation can contribute positively to the international community, but at this time it is difficult to place trust in the Chinese government, given their aggressive posture toward Taiwan.

Mr. Speaker, I have been to China; and I have been to Taiwan. As a visitor, the first observable difference between the two is the mainland Chinese fear of speaking freely. Taiwan, however, reveals a different story. Free trade and travel with the global community have led to the importation of the United States' most precious principle, democracy.

Mainland China has never known such a freedom and has a long road to travel. Taiwan, I believe, provides mainland China a road map for progress. They are a shining light in a troubled region. We must make sure that Taiwan is given the chance to continue their progressive trek. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act ensures that progress. This bill helps to

foster a policy towards China similar to that of President Reagan's towards the communist Soviet Union: contain them militarily, engage them diplomatically, and flood them with Western goods and influence. It worked for Russia; it could work for China.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), the distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I do support the legislation, as I supported the rule. There has been, I think, almost unanimous support expressed for the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979. This legislation has been said to be both extraordinarily significant or perhaps not needed at all. Both positions are probably exaggerations, but I would like to address one aspect of the Taiwan Relations Act that is not being implemented today thereby providing a justification for H.R. 1838.

Now, in the legislation before us, section 4(b) requires that beginning 60 days after the next round of arms sale talks between the U.S. and Taiwan, and one is ongoing now, the President shall submit a report to Congress in classified and unclassified form detailing each of Taiwan's requests, describing the defense needs asserted by Taiwan and its justification for these requests, and a description of the decision-making process used to reject, postpone, or modify any such request.

In order for Congress to play its appropriate role in foreign and defense relationships generally, but also in respect to our TRA commitment to Taiwan to provide them necessary defensive material, we must have this kind of report. Why? Because in the Taiwan Relations Act, section 3(b) provides:

That the President and the Congress shall determine the nature and the quantity of such defense articles and services based solely upon their judgment of the needs of Taiwan, in accordance with the procedures established by law.

Mr. Speaker, that provision of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 is being ignored by the Administration and therefore Congress is basically not able to determine what the Taiwanese are requesting, the nature of the justification given, or the Administration's responses to arms sale requests of the Taiwan government.

Now, we understand that the Administration's response and even the nature of the weapons being requested or considered cannot be broadly shared. But we provide them with a method of providing us this advice on a classified basis.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I want to reassure my colleagues, by asking them to look at the legislation as amended. There are, for example, no specific ref-

erences to weapon types. There are many, many important changes. I urge my colleagues that they can with assurance vote for this legislation. There is never a perfect time to pass such legislation in the House and I would have preferred that we act after the Taiwanese presidential election in April, but America's commitment to Taiwan's defense through the TRA is reinforced by this legislation.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY).

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enforcement Act. While supporters claim that the bill will increase Taiwan's security, the opposite is true. This legislation could have serious unintended consequences that could potentially threaten Taiwan's security, undermine our own national security interests, and jeopardize our relationship with China.

For more than 2 decades, under the leadership of Presidents Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton, the United States has pursued an extensive and successful military relationship with Taiwan through defensive weapons sales and informal military assistance.

The Taiwan Relations Act passed in 1979 has been proven an effective mechanism in helping Taiwan achieve security, prosperity, and freedom.

H.R. 1338 is simply unnecessary. Section 3 of the Taiwan Relations Act already allows the United States to make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in "such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability."

The act further states that a determination of Taiwan's needs "shall include a review by the United States military authorities in connection with the recommendations to the President and Congress."

So as we can see, the passage of H.R. 1838 will not improve the existing act and provide additional security for the people of Taiwan, as supporters of the bill maintain. H.R. 1838 will instead undermine the principal objectives of the Taiwan Relations Act, which was to help maintain peace, security, and stability in the American Pacific.

Passage of the bill would formalize a military relationship with Taiwan and would be a significant departure from the "one China" policy that has been essential to maintaining stability in the region. Not only is the bill unnecessary, but the timing of H.R. 1838 is particularly bad. Recent public statements by Taiwan officials concerning its relationship with China have moved closer to the concept of sovereignty, which has escalated tensions and complicated our "one China" policy. Furthermore, Taiwan will be holding a

presidential election in March and a new administration will be formed in May. We have been urging both sides of the Taiwan Strait to avoid any actions that could increase the risk of conflict and take advantage of possible new opportunities for dialogue. In addition, passage of this bill could potentially jeopardize our efforts to improve our relationships with China.

Let me make clear that I in no way condone any aggressive actions taken by China against Taiwan which threatens its security. But adopting policies that will further distance us from China and undermine opportunities for future dialogue would not be constructive U.S. policy. Undoing any progress that has been made in negotiations on such issues as trade and human rights will not only threaten the future security of Taiwan, but could impede U.S. abilities to advance democracy in the region.

Mr. Speaker, a policy of economic and political engagement is the surest way to promote U.S. interests in China, to advance democracy and human rights, and to secure future economic opportunities for Taiwan, China, and the United States.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER), one of the senior members of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1838. I would like to congratulate the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) for the strong leadership that he has provided us. He has been a stronger leader for peace and stability in the Pacific region than this administration, unfortunately.

What the gentleman has been leading is a bipartisan effort on the part of both sides of the aisle to make sure that the Communist regime in Beijing knows full well that we stand by our commitments in the Taiwan Relations Act and we expect Beijing to stand by its commitments to the Taiwan Relations Act.

In that agreement, we agreed to provide Taiwan the defensive weapons systems they needed to preserve their security and to maintain stability and peace in the Taiwan Strait. Today, we are restating that unambiguously so that it will be understood by friend and foe alike.

Mr. Speaker, this is the way to have peace in that region, to make sure America stands tall, keeps its commitments. Let's people know that we still believe in truth and justice and that as Taiwan moves forward towards its democratic elections, and we have this threatening time period where there are threats from communist China, that the United States is not backing down one bit from its commitments.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BARTLETT).

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. I believe this bill is an extremely important tool in maintaining the balance of power in the Pacific region. Mainland China, or the PRC, is currently engaged in a massive buildup of ballistic missiles capable of reaching the shores of Taiwan. When we passed the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States made a commitment to provide Taiwan with the capability of defending itself from aggression.

H.R. 1838 reaffirms that commitment, and I believe most importantly requires the Secretary of Defense to develop a program to enhance operational training exchanges between the militaries of the United States and Taiwan concerning threat analysis, force planning, and operational methods.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1838 is a necessary step in fulfilling our promises to Taiwan. By passing this legislation, the United States will make a powerful statement that aggression toward Taiwan will not be tolerated.

I urge all of my colleagues to support this important piece of legislation.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. COX), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I too rise in strong support of this resolution offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), my good friend and colleague.

This bill was reported from committee with an overwhelmingly bipartisan vote of 32 to 6. It is because this legislation strengthens and extends the long-standing U.S. policy toward Taiwan. That policy most recently was codified in the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.

Today, even more than in 1979, Taiwan's security is critical to America's interests. Taiwan is now the seventh largest trading partner of the United States. Taiwan buys far more from the United States than does the People's Republic of China. The sea lanes surrounding Taiwan are vital to the economic health of Asia and to the steady growth of U.S. exports to Asia. But most important of all, a democratic Taiwan is a living example to all of the people of China that they too can build for themselves a peaceful, prosperous democracy.

Taiwan does not pose any military threat to the People's Republic of China. But Taiwan's democracy, its freedom of speech and freedom of thought, do pose a threat to the Communist government in Beijing.

This bill will allow our military to have relations with Taiwan's forces as close as what the administration is already putting together with the Com-

munist People's Liberation Army. This upgrading of our military relations ought to occur now in a time of relative stability, because if we were to wait for a time of crisis, it would then be too late. Indeed, many would say then surely it was too provocative.

But the State Department currently bars senior U.S. military officers from meeting their Taiwanese counterparts. But enhanced contacts between the United States and People's Liberation Army officers of all ranks has been made a priority of the Clinton-Gore administration.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act that we are about to vote upon provides that our field rank officers can have the same level of relations with a friendly defensive force on Taiwan that already they have with the Communist People's Liberation Army.

Just 4 days ago, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, General Xiong Guangkai said this about Taiwan. "We," referring to the People's Republic of China and the People's Liberation Army, "we will never commit ourselves to renouncing the use of force." General Xiong said this not in some obscure Communist Party military publication. He said it here in Washington 4 days ago as a guest of the Clinton administration.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act will codify America's long-standing policy of peaceful cross-strait dialogue, peaceful conduct of relations between Beijing and Taipei, peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question. And it will codify, again, our long-standing commitments since President Eisenhower to provide Taiwan with the defensive military strength needs to deter the PRC.

The 1979 Taiwan Relations Act states, "The President and the Congress shall determine the nature and quantity of such defense articles and services that we will sell to Taiwan based solely upon their judgment of the needs of Taiwan."

□ 1345

This law calls for annual reporting to the Congress on those sales, because the administration has not been consulting Congress on these sales as have been required by the letter and spirit of the Taiwan Relations Act.

Lastly, it has been argued occasionally that the United States promised the People's Republic of China to reduce or even terminate arms sales to Taiwan, as a consequence of our growing political recognition of the Communists in Beijing. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The United States has always maintained that we would support the democracy in Taiwan; that we would support peaceful discussions; that we would support defensive weaponry for Taiwan for its legitimate defense needs.

At the time of the signing of the 17 August 1982 communique of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, President Reagan wrote a four-paragraph memo elaborating what had been agreed to. He wrote that our policy was premised on the clear understanding the continuity of China's declared fundamental policy of seeking a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue, quote, "U.S. willingness to reduce its arms sales to Taiwan," President Reagan wrote, "is conditioned absolutely upon the continued commitment of China to the peaceful reunification or the peaceful resolution of this issue."

General Xiong's comments in Washington 4 days ago were not ambiguous; neither should United States' policy be ambiguous. Our goal here on the floor today is, once again, to come together as Democrats and Republicans to state clearly the view of the legislative branch on this subject.

The United States supports the democracy and the freedom of the people in Taiwan. We will continue to do so. We will continue to support their right to be free from aggression militarily by the People's Republic of China. We wish better relations with the PRC. Indeed, we wish for the people of China that the democracy already exemplified by the system that is developed in Taiwan will soon be theirs, that the freedom of speech, the freedom of thought, the freedom of action, the freedom of movement, the freedom of conscience, the freedom of religion that they all enjoy will also be the birthright of every man and woman born in China in the 21st century. That is the purpose of our vote today; that is why it is so fundamentally bipartisan; that is why the vote will be so overwhelming.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote *aye* in support of this resolution.

I congratulate the chairman and the ranking member for their hard work, their excellent work on this bill.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I think that we have come here fairly unified, recognizing the need to make a clear statement about Congress' commitment to the people of Taiwan and their democratic institutions; that we believe any change in the relationship between Taiwan and the mainland must occur out of a mutual agreement, not through intimidation of force.

Traditionally, every administration would like to see the Congress disappear, not just from foreign policy, but from domestic policy as well. They rather not hear from us, and that is understandable.

When you are sitting in the White House, you are down at the Secretary of State's office, you think you are doing just fine and you do not need a lot of help; but I think one of the great things that this institution projects

globally is the importance of a legislative body.

I can remember being on this floor year after year, cosponsoring and speaking on behalf of the resolutions for a free and independent Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; and oftentimes it did seem like a futile effort. And there are many years where it seemed just one more time we were stepping forward to restate our commitment to their independence, and it would be to no avail.

To most of the people's surprise and to, I think, the rejoicing of all of us, we finally saw the Baltic states free. I believe that our actions here today, in these measured terms that the chairman and I and the committee have worked out, simply restate the commitment of this Congress to the democratic institutions of the people of Taiwan and to the resolution of the differences between the mainland and Taiwan, not through military force but through a dialogue. That is what this legislation does. It is consistent with this administration in its actions to date; it is consistent with every administration since the Taiwan Relations Act has occurred.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the distinguished majority whip, and I thank the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) for his supportive remarks.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I really appreciate all the hard work that the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has done and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) has done on this bill. Working together they have done outstanding work, and I am very proud to support this bill.

I also want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH), the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), the gentleman from California (Mr. COX), and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY) for all their hard work on this legislation. This bipartisan dedication to this cause shows how both sides of the aisle can come together under the goal of peace through strength.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today because Taiwan desperately needs America's help. Throughout the 20th century, struggling democracies across this globe knew that they could always count on America for support when their freedom was threatened. At the dawn of a new century, the world must be reassured that the United States will continue to stick by their friends.

Taiwan has a strong and vibrant economy, and in March they will hold another free and open election. I ask all my colleagues, is this not the kind of system we should be backing? Would it not be a tragedy for this light to be extinguished because America had her head stuck in the sand?

Given the volatility of the situation in the Taiwan Strait, any mixed signals by our government can easily be read by the Communist Chinese as complacency. This Congress must erase any doubt as to whether or not we are fully committed to Taiwan, and that is the purpose of this bill.

Stability of the entire Asian region is predicated on a balance of power that keeps China in check. This bill stabilizes Taiwan and the Pacific region by strengthening U.S.-Taiwanese cooperation. It also reassures Japan, South Korea, and all of our Asian allies that we will not neglect their best interest under the shadow of a rapidly growing Communist China.

Despite countless claims by supposed experts that the People's Republic is not a threat, Chinese intentions to the contrary are very clear. In fact, they have been saber rattling for years. A clear message was sent when China fired missile tests off the coast of Taiwan in 1995 and 1996. Since then a massive Chinese missile and military logistical buildup across the Taiwan Strait has served as a constant threat. Waiting for the next shoe to fall would be a very costly mistake.

Ever since the annexation of Hong Kong and Macao, consuming Taiwan has become a pressing goal for the expansionist Communist government in Beijing. To this day the PRC refuses to denounce the use of force in its quest to take back Taiwan. While visiting Washington, D.C. just 6 days ago, a PRC general asserted, and I quote, "We will never commit ourselves to renouncing the use of force."

During the 50th anniversary celebrations of Chinese communism, held just last October, a leading reformer in the PRC leadership warned against U.S. support of Taiwan. "Sooner or later it will lead to an armed resolution of the question," he said. And this is from a so-called reformer.

Make no mistake about it, this is a gravely serious situation. Considering what is at stake, the cost of American assistance is very minimal. The Taiwanese are not asking us to send troops. They are not asking us to bomb anybody. They simply need strategic military advice, technological expertise, and access to purchase American defense systems so they can defend themselves.

Without any more hesitation, U.S. policy must support the continued vitality and security of this thriving nation. Under the TRA, the United States committed to providing defensive capability to Taiwan based on their defense needs. The need is pressing. The time to act on this promise is now.

Mr. Speaker, American prestige is on the line in the Taiwan Strait. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act honors our commitment to stability in Taiwan by increasing cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwanese militaries. It fulfills promises this Congress has already

made to Taiwan and reiterates our national agenda of seeking peace through strength.

Simply put, this Congress must support democracy in Taiwan. We must honor our commitments in the Far East. Supporting this bill accomplishes these goals.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, how much time do we have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has 2½ minutes remaining.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, America is not just another country. We are the oldest revolutionary nation in the world and the world's oldest democracy. We have an obligation to the world, a mission, and that is to advance the cause of freedom around the world.

Mr. Speaker, I have said it before and I will say it again: no nation's people, ever, in the history of the world, have done as much as the American people have done in the cause of freedom, to sacrifice and inconvenience themselves not only for their own freedoms but, as we have seen so many times, even for the freedoms of others. This is a proud heritage we have, and it is a great responsibility we should keep.

Today we are looking at the Chinese people. Mr. Speaker, the Chinese people are a beautiful people. They are a wonderful people, and they are divided now between two different governments. One is a beautiful democracy, and the other one is not so grand. But the Chinese people, whether they live in Taiwan or on the mainland, deserve and want freedom as much as any people in the world, and we must respond to them.

This year the House will vote on two measures that will do that in the East Asia region. One is this bill, to strengthen our security relationship with democrat Taiwan. The other is a resolution, which we will vote on at our earliest possible moment, to establish permanent normal trade relations with China. Friends of Taiwan should not have fear of our greater trade with China, just as those who want more trade with China should not object to us helping Taiwan. Both measures serve exactly the same end, to advance the cause of freedom in East Asia and the Pacific and specifically on behalf of the Chinese people.

How does more trade with China help? Because aside from religious belief, trade is the single most powerful force of liberation in human history. With trade comes prosperity, and with prosperity comes wider sharing of power, a freer flow of information and

the rule of law. That is happening in China today. As China becomes more integrated into the world economy, the Chinese leadership is finding it more and more difficult to stifle the aspirations of their own people.

□ 1400

Just last week the Chinese Government announced a ludicrous effort to impose tight restrictions on the Internet. This is swimming against the tides, Mr. Speaker. The Internet, almost by definition, is something that defies government control. In fact, this effort is nothing but an unwitting tribute to the liberalizing power of the modern information age economy.

They cannot be part of the world economy without the Internet, but they cannot have the Internet without the free flow of ideas and information, including political ideas.

As long as we continue to expand our trade with China and bring China into the world economy, the Chinese leaders will have no choice but to allow greater freedom. Eventually the Chinese people will insist on the freedom to choose their own leaders. And when they do, they are not likely to select leaders who will make war on Taiwan or anyone else.

And how does helping Taiwan further the cause of freedom throughout the region? By strengthening our security ties with Taiwan, we make it clear that the American people will stand by Taiwan if they are attacked. That will discourage any country from doing anything foolish to jeopardize peace and prosperity in the area.

We all know that wars have often started from miscalculation. One country attacks another only after wrongly assuming that the other countries will not come to its aid. This bill will help maintain peace in the Taiwan straits by suggesting in advance that America will come to the aid of democratic Taiwan. It is entirely consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act.

Mr. Speaker, Taiwan is the first democracy in 5,000 years of Chinese history. It stands as a shining example to all the people on the mainland and elsewhere of how a country can be both rich and free. It shows how a nation can emerge from decades of dictatorial rule and create a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. If we truly love freedom, we must protect democratic Taiwan.

I ask all our Members to support both security for Taiwan and more trade with the Chinese people. Together, these policies will help make Asia and the Pacific prosperous, peaceful and, above all, free.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank our majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), for his kind words of support.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my opposition to H.R. 1838, the

Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. I am greatly troubled by this effort to undermine the sound, bipartisan foreign policy of the United States. For more than 20 years, both Democratic and Republican Administrations have maintained a policy of "strategic ambiguity" regarding our relations between China and Taiwan, a policy that has served our nation well. The thrust of this legislation abandons the long-standing and successful policy of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, and I oppose this misguided attempt to impose a fundamental shift in our policy.

I firmly believe that over time, our strategic interest is best served through increased economic ties and expanded cultural relations with China. Efforts to promote travel and tourism to China and encouraging additional Chinese students to attend our universities will significantly improve our relations with China.

However, I do not want this vote to be misinterpreted. The United States and the world community do not approve the increasingly belligerent tone of rhetoric and actions on the part of China against Taiwan. China must understand that the world community expects a peaceful resolution of the China/Taiwan issue.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I stand in support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. I believe this bipartisan legislation will send a clear message that the U.S. will stand firm for democracy and human rights. We must support the right of the Taiwanese people to determine their future without outside military pressure.

We have good reason to be concerned about the rapid military buildup just across the Taiwan Strait. In 1995 and 1996, the Taiwanese people were making history by holding their first democratic presidential election. At the same time, the Chinese government conducted missile tests as a reminder of their true intentions. This was no coincidence. According to a recent Pentagon report, China has continued to build ballistic missiles just off the coast of Taiwan. As we approach the next presidential election this March, we must be aware of the imminent threat to the new democracy in Taiwan.

I believe this legislation would be successful in strengthening our commitment to the Taiwanese people. First, it would enhance Taiwan's self-defense capabilities. Second, this bill affirms that the status of Taiwan must have the consent of the people of Taiwan.

Our goals of securing peace and human rights in China are fully consistent with the goals of this legislation. I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on this bipartisan legislation.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Taiwan for embracing democracy and striving for complete autonomy from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Taiwan has liberated itself from the oppressive Chiang Kai-shek regime only to be threatened by the current Chinese government. The PRC has a history of using coercion to get what it wants, and the recent missile tests are no different. We all know this is wrong and yet we continue a "strategic partnership" with this barbaric regime.

Today's resolution, H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, antagonizes the PRC. The title of the bill is misleading. Sure, it professes the sense of Congress that we

should offer them the military might of the United States, but it will not make Taiwan any more secure. It only raises tensions in the region.

To protect the free people of Taiwan and to help the process of democratization in the PRC, we need a coordinated, thoughtful, comprehensive China Policy.

This Resolution is not such a policy!

For example, China wants and needs integration into the world economy and the WTO. It needs the cooperation of the rest of the world to accomplish this goal. We need a concerted, comprehensive international effort to require that as a condition for the many objectives of the PRC, they give the world assurances of respect for international law, for the rights of the people of Taiwan, and indeed, for the rights of their own people.

Therefore, I will not support the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. While I support this legislation, the timing of it is no small coincidence given the fact that Congress plans to take up unprecedented trade legislation this year involving this region. Over the years, I have witnessed firsthand the casual working relationship the people in both the Peoples Republic of China and the Republic of China have shared. They each have adapted to their special circumstances with relative ease.

I have always supported Taiwan's efforts to embrace democracy and stability in the region. Furthermore, I truly believe that our efforts to engage China and to bring them to the table to work and promote trade and growth will work only to the advantage of the United States. It is with this optimism that I ask my colleagues for the continued support of the people of Taiwan while we also work this session to further strengthen our relationship with China.

There are many that consider China a constant threat in the Taiwan Straits. That said, it is my hope that any country in the world, who moves aggressively toward another would be subject to consequences. Engaging and protecting the interests of our trading partners in the Far East is the single most important thing we can do for all our trading partners there.

I remain committed to the Taiwanese people and their outlook for the future of their citizens. I also remain committed to the economic engagement of China through trade and the power of the market place.

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. This bill gives Taiwan at least some of the tools necessary to defend itself against possible future attacks from Communist China.

When Congress enacted the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, the intent was to ensure Taiwan's security would not be compromised, and a self-defense capability would be maintained. The Clinton administration has wrongly interpreted this act as a "hands off" policy and continues to ignore the growing military force and threat of the Communist Chinese Government.

The utter disregard of the Taiwan Relations Act has placed Taiwan at a clear military disadvantage vis-a-vis mainland China. Reports

indicate the People's Republic of China has a 65 to 4 advantage in submarines, and a 4,500 to 400 numerical advantage in aircraft. The Department of Defense has reported that by 2005, Communist China would have the capability to attack Taiwan with air and missile strikes, destroying both key military facilities and the island's economic infrastructure.

Beijing continues to maintain a large armed forces structure, with more than 2.5 million members in the People's Liberation Army (PLA), a million in the People's Armed Police (PAP), and a reserve-militia component of well over 1.5 million personnel. Still, the Clinton administration continues to assert that Communist China is not a threat. Yet, mainland China's growing advantage in military weapons and soldiers, and its increasingly bellicose policy statements point to the undisputable fact that Communist China is a real and growing threat, and continues to focus on defeating Taiwan militarily.

The United States must act. We are the only power that can provide Taiwan with the weapons it needs to counter any future mainland Chinese aggression. We have an obligation to re-establish oversight of arms sales to Taiwan, and force the President to provide Taiwan with the weapons and military training it needs. Even though Taiwan will never be on equal footing with China in terms of numbers, we must give Taiwan the means necessary to protect itself from attack.

The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act permits the sale of satellite early warning data, missile defense systems, modern air equipment, and naval defense systems. In addition, the Secretary of Defense would be required to report on Taiwan's requests for defense and hardware needs. By passing the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act Congress will empower Taiwan with the mechanism to improve its self-defense capability and protect itself from future coercion from Communist Chinese. It is a small, but vital price to pay, not only to ensure the survival of a key and loyal ally, but our very own survival as well.

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. This bipartisan legislation, which was reported out of the International Relations Committee by a vote of 32-6, reaffirms this Nation's commitment to peace through strength in the Taiwan Strait. I congratulate the House leadership for beginning the new session of Congress with the explicit message that the United States will meet its obligations under the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979.

Under the Taiwan Relations Act, this nation is committed to providing Taiwan with those defensive weapons systems necessary to protect Taiwan from any aggressive actions by Communist China. Unfortunately, by sending out mixed signals to the government of Taiwan while concurrently maintaining a policy of appeasement with the People's Republic of China, the Clinton administration has fostered the current environment of tension in the Taiwan Strait.

With this legislation, Congress is clearing up any confusion the Clinton administration has created regarding this Nation's commitment to a free and democratic Taiwan. Recently, the Pentagon reported that the People's Liberation

Army of China has nearly 100 short-range ballistic missiles targeted at Taiwan. In addition to a real increased threat of Chinese cruise missiles and fighter-bombers, China's dangerous rhetoric and intimidation has led Taiwan to publicly express their concern of possible aggression in the near future. In 1996, China performed significant military operations across the strait from Taiwan and fired several ballistic missiles near Taiwan.

In addition to reconfirming this nation's military commitment to Taiwan, H.R. 1838 will provide for increased training for Taiwan's military officers in U.S. military schools and require the Secretary of State to make information regarding defense services fully available to the government of Taiwan in an expedited manner. Furthermore, this legislation will require the President to report to Congress regarding any and all of Taiwan's defense need requests and Administration decisions on those requests.

The best way to make sure China will take Taiwan seriously and treat them fairly in discussions regarding reunification is to send a clear and unmistakable message that the United States will stand by Taiwan if China takes any aggressive action in the Taiwan Strait. Today we have the opportunity to stand up for freedom and democracy and show our support for the people of Taiwan.

Mr. Speaker I urge a bipartisan yes vote for the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on the legislation before us, H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which seeks to promote stability between Taiwan, the People's Republic of China, and the United States.

At the outset, I would note that at the heart of the relationship between Taiwan and the United States lies the Taiwan Relations Act, which for over two decades has effectively laid and preserved the foundation for peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

When the security of our friends in Taiwan was threatened by China in spring of 1996, I joined with our colleagues in Congress in strongly supporting the Clinton administration's decision to send the *Nimitz* and *Independence* carrier groups to the Taiwan Strait to maintain peace. China's missile tests, military exercises, and threatened use of force contravened China's commitment under the 1979 and 1982 Joint Communiqués to resolve Taiwan's status by peaceful means. The joint communiqués, in concert with the Taiwan Relations Act, lay the framework for our "One China" policy, which fundamentally stresses that force shall not be used in resolution of the Taiwan question.

Mr. Speaker, the graphic response of the United States in 1996 sent an unequivocal message to Beijing, as witnessed by the world, that America would not stand by idly while Taiwan was threatened with China's military might. The formidable U.S. military presence in Taiwan's waters, along with the explicit warnings of grave consequences for Chinese use of force against Taiwan, concretely demonstrated our Nation's determination and resolve to aid Taiwan in the event of attack. In my view, Mr. Speaker, our actions that were taken then during the heat of the Taiwan Strait crisis continue to speak volumes today about

America's unquestioned and unshakeable commitment to Taiwan's security, much more than any policy statements we might adopt today.

Mr. Speaker, under the existing policy of the Taiwan Relations Act, our Nation and Taiwan have formed a close partnership that already encompasses military relations, meetings of high-level officials, and extensive transfers of high-tech defense weaponry.

As we examine the legislation before us, I ask our colleagues to question whether it actually enhances the security of Taiwan above and beyond what has, what is, and will be provided to Taiwan for its legitimate defense needs under existing policy.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is firmly and unequivocally committed to the protection of Taiwan's people and democracy, and certainly no nation knows this better than China. I am not persuaded that the legislation before us is necessary nor that it serves to enhance stability in the Taiwan Strait.

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 1838 and I thank my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for their efforts to bring this bill to the floor today.

The United States relationship with the Republic of China is vital to our economic and national security interests. Through its financial success and blossoming democracy Taiwan remains a model for other countries in Asia, including China, to follow.

The story of Taiwan's economic success is now widespread. During and after the Asian financial crisis, Taiwan's free-market economy fared much better than its centrally controlled neighbors. Their economy, in fact, maintained a GDP growth rate of 4.8 percent over 1998.

It is also wise for us to remember that Taiwan is the United States' 7th largest trading partner and an important part of the successful economy we enjoy today. In February 1998, Taiwan and the United States negotiated a market access agreement as a prelude to Taiwan's entry into the World Trade Organization.

This strong economic relationship with Taiwan and our successful negotiations with Taipei have helped to lead China into its own successful market access negotiations with the United States. Later this year in fact, Congress will pass legislation to grant China permanent normal trade relations status so that United States companies will benefit from China's entrance into the WTO. This will also improve our ability to provide support for the Chinese people who need our help the most.

Unfortunately, the administration's confused policies and actions in recent years have damaged our relationship with Taiwan and Congress must now pass this bill to steer us back on the right course.

The United States, as the world's leading democracy, has a responsibility to support the security of Taiwan, one of the world's smallest yet one of the most important democracies.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.

This legislation is necessary to reaffirm our Nation's commitments to Taiwan, an important partner of our country in the realm of trade, and a strong proponent of democracy.

American policies, which oppose China's use of force against Taiwan, need reinforce-

ment now, as Taiwan approaches presidential elections. Four years ago, China's leadership conducted a series of missile tests near Taiwan—a move meant to intimidate the Taiwanese people on the eve of elections then. In response, the United States was compelled to deploy two carrier battle groups in order to restore tranquility.

Today, China is engaged in a build-up of missile forces that again threatens Taiwan. These unwarranted, threatening developments make this bill's consideration today an imperative.

It is patently obvious that Taiwan poses no threat to China. Military training or other security measures provided to Taiwan by the United States is strictly oriented towards Taiwan's defense. As such, this bill merits our strong support.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Pursuant to House Resolution 408, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX further proceedings on this motion will be postponed until later today.

CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION AND ENFORCEMENT ACT

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and concur in the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 764) to reduce the incidence of child abuse and neglect, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

TITLE I—THE CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION AND ENFORCEMENT ACT

SEC. 101. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "Child Abuse Prevention and Enforcement Act".

SEC. 102. GRANT PROGRAM.

Section 102(b) of the Crime Identification Technology Act of 1998 (42 U.S.C. 14601(b)) is amended by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (15), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (16) and inserting "; and", and by adding after paragraph (16) the following:

"(17) the capability of the criminal justice system to deliver timely, accurate, and complete criminal history record information to child welfare agencies, organizations, and programs that are engaged in the assessment of risk and other activities related to the protection of children, including protection against child sexual abuse, and placement of children in foster care."

SEC. 103. USE OF FUNDS UNDER BYRNE GRANT PROGRAM FOR CHILD PROTECTION.

Section 501(b) of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3751) is amended—

(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (25);

(2) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (26) and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(27) enforcing child abuse and neglect laws, including laws protecting against child sexual abuse, and promoting programs designed to prevent child abuse and neglect; and

"(28) establishing or supporting cooperative programs between law enforcement and media organizations, to collect, record, retain, and disseminate information useful in the identification and apprehension of suspected criminal offenders."

SEC. 104. CONDITIONAL ADJUSTMENT IN SET ASIDE FOR CHILD ABUSE VICTIMS UNDER THE VICTIMS OF CRIME ACT OF 1984.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1402(d)(2) of the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 (42 U.S.C. 10601(d)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking "(2) the next \$10,000,000" and inserting "(2)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the next \$10,000,000"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(B)(i) For any fiscal year for which the amount deposited in the Fund is greater than the amount deposited in the Fund for fiscal year 1998, the \$10,000,000 referred to in subparagraph (A) plus an amount equal to 50 percent of the increase in the amount from fiscal year 1998 shall be available for grants under section 1404A.

"(ii) Amounts available under this subparagraph for any fiscal year shall not exceed \$20,000,000."

(b) INTERACTION WITH ANY CAP.—Subsection (a) shall be implemented so that any increase in funding provided thereby shall operate notwithstanding any dollar limitation on the availability of the Crime Victims Fund established under the Victims of Crime Act of 1984.

TITLE II—JENNIFER'S LAW

SECTION 201. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as "Jennifer's Law".

SEC. 202. PROGRAM AUTHORIZED.

The Attorney General is authorized to provide grant awards to States to enable States to improve the reporting of unidentified and missing persons.

SEC. 203. ELIGIBILITY.

(a) APPLICATION.—To be eligible to receive a grant award under this title, a State shall submit an application at such time and in such form as the Attorney General may reasonably require.

(b) CONTENTS.—Each such application shall include assurances that the State shall, to the greatest extent possible—

(1) report to the National Crime Information Center and when possible, to law enforcement authorities throughout the State regarding every deceased unidentified person, regardless of age, found in the State's jurisdiction;

(2) enter a complete profile of such unidentified person in compliance with the guidelines established by the Department of Justice for the National Crime Information Center Missing and Unidentified Persons File, including dental records, DNA records, x-rays, and fingerprints, if available;

(3) enter the National Crime Information Center number or other appropriate number assigned to the unidentified person on the death certificate of each such unidentified person; and

(4) retain all such records pertaining to unidentified persons until a person is identified.

SEC. 204. USES OF FUNDS.

A State that receives a grant award under this title may use such funds received to establish or